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International relations gripped in deadlock

International relations are now in a state of deadlock and stagnation.

There are phases in international relations when negotiations between states degenerate into mere wrangles about procedure. There is no movement whatsoever and no side seems to have the strength to break out of the doldrums. Awareness of the gap between intention and achievement leads to paralysis.

There was a similar state of sterility during the 1960s. In the years between the Berlin crisis and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, East-West relations were characterised by an acceptance of confrontation rather than the wish to seek detente.

In Europe, General de Gaulle stamped on all attempts to increase the range of the EEC or to admit new members. The United States wasted its energies in the jungles of Vietnam.

China was in the throes of the cultural revolution. Moscow and Peking showered each other with abuse and there was even fighting on the Ussuri frontier.

The states of the Third World released themselves from the yoke of colonialism and experienced the growth pains of independence — unrest at home, conflicts abroad.

Then, in 1969, there was a dramatic improvement. East-West relations were now marked by attempts at detente: Salt, the four-power agreement, Bonn's treaties with Eastern bloc countries all pointed in a new, more hopeful direction.

Great Britain, Denmark and Ireland joined the European Economic Community. A fresh wind of change blew through the corridors. The Americans pulled out of the rain-forests of Vietnam and turned towards their transatlantic partners. The Chinese began looking for ways out of the chaos of the cultural revolution.

Moscow and Peking occasionally even spoke to each other. The 77 Group was formed to represent the interests of the Third World countries and soon became a force to be reckoned with internationally.

All this could have been a foundation on which to go on building. Then came another sudden and dramatic change.

The 1973 oil crisis changed international leaders' priorities almost overnight. Economic questions dominated, political ones receded into the background. The East-West vision of international economic cooperation on a vast scale was abandoned in the face of the harsh realities.

The world economic crisis impeded progress towards greater integration within the EEC and caused rifts between the democratic industrial states.

The Third World began beating the drum in North-South negotiations.

Then there were personal factors such as Nixon's downfall and Carter's unexpected rise to power. There were changes of leadership in the major European countries and in Japan. Brezhnev became ill and seemed to run out of ideas. China remained inscrutable.

In this context, it is not surprising that these days all roads in world politics seem to lead up dark alleys. Relations between Europe and America are worse than they have been for a long time. The EEC, perplexed by the Carter phenomenon, is hesitant about extending the Community and working towards greater integration. Detente, as a vision of the future rather than a clearing away of the rubble of the past, is stagnant.

The hostility between Russia and China is once again coming to the boil. There is no sign of the great change in North-South relations: the South is making impossible demands and the North wants to put everything off to the distant future.

The world powers are all weak and their collective weakness condemns them to stagnation. There are no exceptions to this diagnosis.

In Jimmy Carter, America has a President with all the qualities needed to become President, but only few of those needed to be a President. He is a man who sees politics as a matter of will and idea rather than as a question of making and acting on decisions.

This applies to both his home and foreign policy. To him, ideas are everything. He is not concerned with how they are to be put into practice, which means that even the best ideas come to nothing. He is not interested in decision-making processes or normal consultation procedures. There is no relying on his sticking to agreements and concessions.

As for partnership, the way he has treated the Europeans and the Japanese indicates that he does not understand the meaning of the word. He is not an isolationist but a unilateralist. He prefers zigzags to straight lines.

On detente, the Middle East, Africa and the Third World his policies remain verbal. He is neither prepared to act swiftly and decisively, nor to stand by and await developments if the situation calls for it.

It remains to be seen whether the President can learn from experience.

Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Kremlin hierarchy, is an old and sick man. He has suffered many a hard blow in recent years. His policies towards the West have not, as he wished, changed the status quo in his favour, but merely strengthened it. The European Security Conference has brought him more trouble within his own camp than it has brought the West.

Eurocommunism is fanning the nascent unrest in Eastern Europe. The dream of the great leap forward in economic development is a thing of the past. Russian influence in the Middle East has been significantly reduced. Russian influence in Africa is growing but the price is high: the Soviet Union is finding its involvement with Angola highly expensive and its role in the Horn of Africa both problematic and expensive.

The attempt at reconciliation with China has not succeeded, even after Mao's death. As Brezhnev's star wanes, we can expect the usual struggles for succession.

As for Europe, it is licking the wounds of the economic crisis. The member states are concentrating on their own problem: the Community is running on the spot, frightened that it could go backwards and equally terrified of having to go forward.

The Nine are hesitantly working on a new profile but the chance of major improvements or even of an upswing, are slim. In relations with America, the Community lacks the courage, on the one hand, to disagree and pursue its own course regardless, or, on the other hand, to acquiesce in the American approach.

The result is a weak expression of discontent. The same applies to relations with Moscow. There is neither the strength for a continuation of detente nor for a return to the Cold War.

Over the extension of the Community, the admission of Greece, Portugal and Spain, all the present member states hypocritically profess to be all for it. In reality, some hope and others fear that extension will mean dilution of the Community.

The question is how is a 12-member EEC going to be able to make decisions — unless it splits into a central group surrounded by satellites, some of whom would pay and others receive tribute. Europe is simply avoiding all these unpleasant questions.

China is trying to pull itself out of the slough of radical dogmatism, moving quietly away from Maoism. The new leadership wants to modernise the country and this is going to take time.

The state of agriculture is tragic. Chinese industry will take decades to reach world standards. Even the elite units in the army are equipped by 1950s standards from our point of view. The state of science and research retrogressed three generations during the cultural revolution.

China as the leading Third World power or as a world power is a possibility yet to be realised and not certain. Who knows whether another political upheaval may not sweep away all that may have been achieved by a few years of pragmatism?

And what, apart from confused theories and slavering propaganda, has China got to offer the world.

Finally the Third World: it remains amorphous, impatient and unjust in its demands for immediate justice. It is deluding itself if it believes that ideological proclamations are the best means of achieving its ends.

It is mistaken if it believes that paper majorities on international committees are the key to success. It errs when it limits the idea of human rights to "the rights of nations" at the same time as stamping on the rights of individuals.

The problem in international relations is that the signals between the heads of

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Japanese welcome

Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher and President Walter Scheel are greeted in Tokyo by Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda at the start of President Scheel's state visit (Photo: dpa)

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Königswinter friends give each other straight talk

There some things which politicans can only say if they are certain of a thick cushion of understanding and sympathy.

The young Bundestag member who told British politicians, trade unionists and industrialists in St. Catherine College's Sunley Hall: "Friends, if you want to break with your traditions, then cook your own stew... but keep your hands of free trade," knew beforehand that he could say so in that particular company without causing a sensation.

The German-British Society had invited him to its 28th Königswinter Conference to critically review the German-British friendship under the overall title: "Europe's Weather: Cloudy... future prospects uncertain."

The friends of Königswinter have promoted German-British friendship and European integration for more than 25 years, tending them lovingly. As a result, they insist on the right to exchange truths.

This applied to the Oxford meeting. The Germans came forward with a checklist ranging from the British referendum, the tug-of-war over the "green pound" and fishing limits, Britain's unilateral actions in the European Commission under the presidency of Roy Jenkins, all the way to the delaying of direct elections to the European Parliament.

Nothing relating to German-British friendship was missing.

The Britons were clearly impressed, and after the two-and-a-half day Oxford meeting asked themselves "what the others (from the vantage point of the Königswinter Conference, this means the rest of the world) might say when our friends say such things about us?"

The "friends" made it quite clear that the Britons had to realise that their attitude in European Community bodies has frequently been hard to tolerate for the other eight members.

Ralf Dahrendorf's theory (published in the German press in time for the Königswinter Conference) that the British, compared with the lethargic Germans suffering from Europe fatigue, were the better Europeans, was viewed by his fellow countrymen as the fruit of reflection from the "specific vantage point of a German director of the London School of Economics."

Understandably, his thesis that the Britons are better Europeans because they passionately struggle for Europe in political discussions met with more understanding from the British.

In the library of Christ Church College, James Callahan's Minister of Education Shirley Williams, a committed fighter for Europe, thanked the German guests for their stimulating criticism, and asked spiritedly that they show understanding for the domestic difficulties of the British government.

"You lament the postponement by one year of the European elections, while we are happy that they have not had to be postponed by a hundred years," she said.

This sort of thing unifies the friends of Königswinter.

Their traditionally sure instinct for the timeliness of issues has been demonstrated once more by the conference.

A community of West European states about to grant membership to Spain, Portugal and Greece must cast a critical glance at the relationship between partners who, compared with the new members, should actually be considered similar.

The appeal by the young Bundestag member was no joke. Under the sustained pressure of unemployment, the British are about to revert to darkest protectionism.

True, the Labour politician and trade unionist Shirley Williams was still in a position to announce: "We need a long-range strategy against unemployment and not short-range measures which do more harm than good."

But pressure from the trade unions (and industry) is rising.

The unionist who said in Oxford: "Protectionism remains on the agenda; we need jobs and not a philosophy," is by no means an isolated case.

Still, the Königswinter friends consider him a "European."

What "the others" think by now goes far beyond selective and limited protective measures against (primarily Asian) non-Community countries.

As opposed to other European circles, the Königswinter Conference has always been distinguished by not sweeping the Community's risks under the carpet of well-meant enthusiasm.

Unemployment was seen as the number one risk at Oxford. But the conference was unable to come up with more than rudimentary ideas to combat it: a sort of Marshall Plan for South-East Europe, a bit more growth steam in the German locomotive and shorter working hours as a socially palatable emergency measure.

What if none of this helps? The horror alternative of a "collapse of the Community due to political destruction of the tariff union" was dealt with even by the courageous and realistic Königswinter friends only as an hypothesis.

Hans D. Barbier

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 April 1978)

Nato scientists call for more social concern

The industrialised West must give new meaning to its striving for growth, using it to serve people and narrow the gap between rich and poor. This was the focal idea of the three-day conference on the 20the anniversary of the Nato Science Committee.

The meeting was attended by some 300 scientists and researchers (among them six Nobel Prize-winners) from the 15 member states and non-Nato countries such as Austria.

Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns and several other speakers said the committee served non-military research and should receive more financial support (last annual budget: ten million dollars) to provide top politicians with material to enable them to solve long-term economic, social and scientific problems.

Maharlan Cleveland, US Nato ambassador in the 60s and now director of the Aspen Institute in Princeton, New Jersey, said society was now not so much confronted with impassable limits of growth but with the limits of many governments in their scope of decision.

With Thomas W. Wilson, Jr., Cleveland presented the symposium with a study entitled "Growth for whom? Growth to what end?"

Professor Eduard Pestel, Lower Saxony's Minister for Art and Science and member of the Club of Rome (which published the much-discussed "Limits of Growth"), said it was fallacious to believe that growth in GNP automatically meant more happiness for the citizen.

The Nato Science Committe, of which he is a member, should in future pay more attention to the world-wide energy problem.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 April 1978)

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state have become weaker. Everything has come to a standstill. Vital, compelling ideas are lacking and so is the statesman who could put them into practice. What is needed is a fresh start. Is there likely to be one this spring or summer?

There is no shortage of hopeful signs. Brezhnev is coming to Bonn, Vance is going to Moscow. Nato meets this May in Washington, representatives of the North and the South are meeting at Unctad, the Europeans are meeting this July in Bremen, and the industrial nations in Bonn.

Can a new "phase of decision" end stagnation and change the mood — this time for the better?

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, 14 April 1978)

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Will US scare the EEC into family unity?

Will US President Jimmy Carter succeed where Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin failed? Will he frighten the Europeans into a genuine union, transforming their Community from a glorified tariff union into a political family?

In the past few years, Europe has existed only by virtue of economic actions. The political flywheel — and only this can further the Community — has stood still.

But now, the triple Carter shock (his off-again-on-again in connection with the neutron device, the threatened embargo on uranium shipments and the dollar weakness) has genuinely frightened Europe. Will this instil new life into European integration efforts?

At the European Summit in Copenhagen the nine governments, which have lately been concentrating their efforts on coping with domestic difficulties (though not very successfully), took heart again, directing their thoughts ahead.

Not much has happened so far. But at least the leaders pondered aloud in the seclusion of a Danish castle how to deal with the monetary unrest coming from the dollar. They want no more and no less than a major European currency union.

France's President Giscard d'Estaing put his finger most surely on the causes of the European malaise.

In the economic leadership triangle of the United States, Western Europe and Japan, Giscard said, Europe is particularly affected by a disadvantage that thwarts economic growth.

Unlike the other two economic centres, it has not one but many currencies. It also consists of countries with different economic potentials. This, he said, leads to tensions that have to be remedied since no country can cope alone with the outside threat.

The Copenhagen attempt to find a Eruopean strategy to cure the world economy has the right approach.

While there is no uniform Eurocurrency, the national currencies are to be linked — at first loosely and later more firmly.

Helmut Schmidt is prepared to abandon his reservations about a pooling of German foreign exchange reserves.

He will permit his European partners to avail themselves — at least in part — of the Rhinegold.

What is behind this change of mind? In a large currency union the partners would be unable to commit inflationary follies. On the contrary, Germany's foreign exchange reserves could bring about stability.

The new attempt is welcomed by all those heads of government of the Nine who consider European monetary chaos one of the main reasons for inadequate growth.

Italy's Prime Minister Andreotti, however, is somewhat hesitant to go along. James Callahan, too, showed little enthusiasm. He would like to make Schmidt reward his participation with a German booster shot for his economy.

Chancellor Schmidt realises that setbacks can also come from other quarters: if Jimmy Carter actually puts a bit more energy into his anti-inflationary measures at home and makes use of his scope of action in curbing oil imports, Europe's willingness to unite against dangers from abroad could diminish.

By the next meeting of the European Council in Bremen at the beginning of July it will be known whether America is actually taking decisive action against the dollar weakness.

If not, Europe will have to seize the favourable moment. Conditions for a common economic and monetary policy have never been so good: Britain is clearly doing better due to North Sea oil and France, following the election victory against the left, is once more pursuing stability.

The fate of the dollar will primarily be decided in Washington. But Europe can through its own efforts protect itself against the dollar weakness, at the same time helping the whole world through being a stable community.

To this end Schmidt can even permit his European partners a dip into the Rhinegold treasure trove which he has up to now guarded like Alberich.

Rudolf Herlt

(Die Zeit, 14 April 1978)

HOME AFFAIRS

Clashes on foreign policy hide much party concord

Those who watch Bonn's foreign policy, attend Bundestag debates and read government and Opposition statements invariably conclude that there is a huge gap between the SPD-FDP government and the CDU Opposition over foreign policy.

"Such is the force of habit that we persist in this belief. But does a gap really exist? And if so, is it as wide as it appears?

Of course there is heated discussion and controversy. One need only recall Opposition Helmut Kohl's recent statement on President Carter's decision to postpone production of the neutron bomb.

Kohl accused the Chancellor of not stating his position clearly enough for fear of left-wing reaction and said this hesitancy was an important factor in President Carter's decision.

Herr Kohl's description of the Chancellor's dilemma, is, to a large extent, accurate but his assumptions about the reason for the American decision are incorrect. His accusation cannot disguise that there is a wide measure of agreement between the coalition government and the Opposition on foreign policy.

Both SPD-FDP and CDU-CSU agree to the neutron bomb being installed on German sites under certain conditions. There is also a large degree of agreement on the two other major issues in German-American relations: nuclear policy and growth policy.

Of course government and Opposition speakers launch into one another in Bundestag foreign policy debates, as we saw recently during the debates on the State of the Nation and Bonn's United Nations role. The press then unanimously reports that divisions are as great as ever, the perennial controversies still raging.

This is only a partial truth. It overlooks the other, new part of the truth, namely that the Opposition has on several occasion applauded the Chancellor.

FDP MP Hoppe won the heart of the Opposition during the debate on the budget and has been singled out for demonstrative praise. Herr Abelein, an Opposition MP no-one accuse of excessive amiability towards his Social Democrat and Liberal colleagues, has recently been heard shouting "hear hear" and "absolutely right" during speeches by Free Democrats.

Herr Abelein made an observation during the budget debate which many a Social Democrat would hardly have dared to utter: "We need Herr Honecker, too." When wondrous things such as this occur, is it surprising that the Opposition applauded loudly after Foreign Minister Genscher's speech?

How seriously can we take these signs of agreement? How far do they go and what do they mean?

Agreement is not as novel at as it may seem. There has been virtual unanimity between government and Opposition in certain foreign policy areas for some time: European and Nato policy for instance. There are no extreme differences on Berlin. And even in the controversial area of *Ostpolitik* there are early traces of agreement to be found.

In the summer of 1974 Herr Genscher spoke for the first time of a common basis on foreign policy between government and Opposition. After the treaty with Czechoslovakia had been ratified, he said the negotiation phase in *Ostpolitik* was over and the time had come to put agreements into practice. This meant the Opposition could perhaps return to more cooperation in foreign policy.

The unspectacular, detailed work on putting these agreements into practice has turned out to be uncontroversial. Given the international political situation there have been definite signs of a change in *Ostpolitik*. This policy is not a return to Cold War days but a wait-and-see policy with frequent legalistic skirmishes.

The Opposition now describes the government's *Ostpolitik* as more realistic than before, and Herr Genscher has not contradicted them. Some Opposition politicians even claim the government is pursuing its *Ostpolitik*.

It was no coincidence that Genscher spoke of cooperation. When he was Minister of the Interior, he managed to keep his ministry out of the limelight of party controversy — an achievement almost inconceivable today.

Genscher not only has a remarkable talent for formulating even controversial policies in such a way as to avoid confrontation, he is also a basically conciliatory man, a man who seeks consensus.

Neither Opposition leader Helmut Kohl nor his leading foreign policy experts such as Marx, Weizsäcker and Mertes can complain that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has starved them of information.

This does not mean of coutse they are immediately told state secrets such as Brezhnev's letter of protest over the neutron bomb or Bonn on the weapon.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs — unlike the Ministry of German Affairs from which the Opposition learns only what is absolutely necessary — has become a kind of open house for the CDU-CSU. Never before has the Opposition been better informed on foreign policy.

At times this access to information has been particularly evident, for example when the treaties with Poland were ratified and when preparations were being made for the Helsinki conference (which did not prevent the Opposition voting against the Helsinki agreement). There are some Opposition politicians who claim they cooperate more closely with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs then many a Social Democrat.

This may well apply to elite circles such as German Foreign Policy Society study groups, but it certainly does not apply to the foreign policy committee. Here, the Opposition is dominated by the phalank of German nationalists, refugees from former territories of Hitler's German Reich and rabid anti-communists.

Whenever Foreign Office civil servants hear the names of Hupka, Czaja or Jäger, a smile of resignation passes over their faces. This can be interpreted as meaning that these people are necessary and inevitable evils in a parliamentary democracy but make life extremely difficult for high-ranking Ministry of Foreign Affairs civil servants.

The fact that the Opposition uses foreign policy to gain home policy advantages is blatantly obvious. In no other sphere is the Opposition's contact with the necessities of government so slight as here. Provincialism and the parading of national feelings are the almost inevitable consequence.

The Opposition also uses foreign policy as a means of conducting its internal power struggles. Strauss uses it ruthlessly to bolster his "statesmanlike" image at Opposition leader Helmut Kohl's expense. Unlike Kohl, CSU leader Strauss is banking on the notion that total confrontation with the government is the best policy. Striving for power is at least as important a motive as his convictions on foreign policy.

There are, of course, those in the government camp who advocate a policy of confrontation. When Egon Bahr made the remark that the neutron bomb was a perversion of human thinking, when he speaks on Bonn's relations with the GDR or South Africa, many a Foreign Affairs civil servant frowns. Instead of being the Foreign Affairs head of planning they once knew, Bahr is now the national secretary of the SPD, a party politician and a home policy man.

These differences can be explained in terms of how the government and the Opposition see their roles. There are occasions when an Opposition has to be more outspoken than the government (on matters such as human rights or the negotiation of treaties for instance).

CDU MP Mertes has developed this subtle game of changing roles into a whole theory of foreign policy. This explains a good deal. Yet it becomes of dubious value when we see Opposition politicians, who on all major issues have voted against the government, claiming that they are the government's best and most loyal partners (something which Mertes, who is sincerely trying to achieve a common basis with the government, has fallen into).

This theory becomes downright dangerous when the majority of the Opposition play the game with a fanaticism that stems either from the determination to wrest power from the government or blind national feelings — with no sense whatever of the necessities of foreign policy.

Apart from this, there is a considerable residue of differences of principle on foreign policy. Government and Opposition have differing views on the Soviet Union's role in world politics and what this country's attitude towards the Soviet Union should be.

This is the problem which is uppermost in the mind of Werner Marx, one of the Opposition's leading foreign policy spokesman who has consistently tried to find common ground with the government.

Third World policy and Nato policy recede into the background in comparison. Marx is certainly willing to cooperate with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but he is alarmed at the military and ideological danger which he believes the Soviet Union constitutes.

Strauss's fixation on this subject is a kind of apocalyttic vision. He believes it requires statesman to counter this danger and in his eyes there is only one man capable of this since Mao's death — himself.

SPD and FDP politicians have a rather higher opinion of the Soviet Union's willingness to cooperate on a non-ideological basis. James Reston said of President Carter's foreign policy that he was willing to take certain risks for the sake of peace to demonstrate to the Russians that he trusted their political reason and to encourage them to take similar steps.

The same applies to most leading foreign policy makers in the SPD. Wehner and Brandt would probably subscribe to a similar policy with some reservations, Schmidt would be considerably more cautious and Genscher would hardly go along with it at all.

Like the CDU, his main concern is security. Unlike the CDU, however, Genscher maintains a friendly though distant tone, anxious not to soil chances of cooperation by engaging in too much controversy.

The attitude of Bundestag politicians to the neutron bomb reflects their approach to the Soviet Union. At the SPD party conference, deputy party chairman Koschnick said the main thing was that production of the weapon should not begin at all.

Government circles within the SPD were more cautious, arguing that the weapon, if produced, should be used as a negotiating counter in disarmament talks.

Genscher, like many CDU politicians, was convinced of the military necessity of producing the weapon but was mainly interested in its potential for forcing the Soviet Union to make concessions in disarmament talks.

The majority of the CDU-CSU Opposition did not seem to see the connection between neutron production and the disarmament negotiations.

The CDU-CSU's fixation on the Soviet Union's dark designs decisively affects its view of the rest of the world. Strauss has described President Carter as "the first American president who has ever cringed to one of the Red Tsars."

The CDU-CSU see the Chinese as valuable allies and is prepared to accept the military dictatorship in Chile because it regards both as bastions gainst Soviet influence. Of course the Opposition sees African and Third World policy in the same light.

Whereas Genscher talks of freedom movements which unfortunately use violence, Strauss talks of communist-inspired terrorist organisations.

Herr Genscher, like President Carter, understands African wishes for independence. Strauss sees in the same phenomenon merely an extension of communist power.

Genscher has warned against the dangers of the whites in South Africa trying to hold in to power too long. Strauss is appalled by the risks a change to black power would bring and, while using human rights as a whip with which to lacerate the communists, tells the Americans that it is wrong to see foreign policy solely in terms of human rights.

Now that the controversies about *Ostpolitik* have died down, interest is centred on Third World, and particularly African policy. Many in the Bonn coalition believe there could be a large measure of agreement between government and Opposition on Africa — yet it is also a rich source of conflict.

The Opposition leadership is aware of this. The CDU has worked out a policy paper which in its opinion is not very much more different from Genscher's position on one side than Egon Bahr's views are on the other. The CDU paper does at least say that "political, legal and social changes have to be made rapidly."

The Opposition leadership is clearly anxious not to damage the government's

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■ TELEVISION

ZDF celebrates 15 years: from parish pump to major European station

The television station *Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* (ZDF — second German television) started life with a lofty philosophy 15 years ago.

It was ushered in by the then Director-General Professor Karl Holzamer with the words: "It is our objective to present the world of today in all its timeliness and to present the whole thing *in a pleasing and eye-catching form.*"

Then ZDF went on the air on 1 April 1963.

The prospects, uncertain initially, improved and the Mainz TV station became one of Europe's largest.

Though the programmes might not always have been as eye-catching as promised, pleasing they certainly have been. ZDF was determined to become the public's favourite at any cost.

The wooing of the public to achieve a high tune-in rating taxed the objective of a public service institution but it proved successful. ZDF has been considered particularly efficient in the entertainment sector.

Initially it was viewed with open scepticism and often contempt by intellectuals, leading to the saying: "Mainz is the vengeance, sayeth the Lord."

Much criticism was levelled at the parochialism of many broadcasts, the flood of trivia and the bourgeois righteousness, but nothing could halt the inexorable rise of ZDF.

Its mixture of appeal to the pseudo-educated bourgeois, advice on day-to-day matters and old chestnuts made ZDF a somewhat enigmatic station while it competed with its rival, ARD (work group of German broadcasting station).

ZDF's history began with the successful preservation of broadcasting freedom.

At that time, the federal government (or, to be exact, Konrad Adenauer) wanted to extend the authority of the executive branch to include television.

In 1960, Adenauer established the limited company Deutschland Fernsehen GmbH in Cologne. This attempt at creating a federal TV system was opposed by the Prime Ministers of the SPD-governed Länder.

They filed suit at the Constitutional Court, which ruled on 28 February 1961 that broadcasting, as a cultural institution, was in the jurisdiction of the Länder and the federal authority was restricted to pure communications and technical affairs.

Only three months after the court ruling, the Prime Ministers of the Länder agreed on a "State Treaty for the Establishment of the Public Entity Institution Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen", thus thwartin- the ARD bid for a television monopoly.

Having warded off the federal government's attempt at seizing broadcasting power, the political representatives of the Länder by no means engaged in noble moderation.

On the contrary, they secured an unprecedented say in the supervisory bodies of ZDF and thus a decisive influence on the appointment of top editorial staff.

Political bickering has thus from the very beginning dominated ZDF history.

"Cliques" formed in the Television Council, composed primarily of CDU and SPD, and the proportional representation principle took on grotesque forms at times.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

When editor-in-chief Rudolf Woller, at that time a CDU sympathiser, had to *resign two years ago, he summed up the* situation as: "Far beyond due control of a public entity institution and far beyond the exigencies of proportional representation, the political parties are trying to influence the personnel policy of broadcasting systems.

"Isn't it true that many top politicians intimate their displeasure when they are not interviewed by journalists with whom they can be certain that they won't ask too critical questions?

"Don't we feel the danger to which we are exposed there? And don't we know that many a journalist, right down to the ranks of our new blood, would rather place his career in the hands of a party than put his faith in his professional ability?"

Though the parties have now perfected their influence in the ZDF, they were extremely sloppy over its founding. The financing they provided was inadequate and they boldly and wrongly maintained that a large part of the operating costs could be recovered from commercials and that this income should not be taxable since it was derelved while acting on behalf of the Länder.

This was a mistake which, had the Federal Government been less accommodating, could have spelled doom for ZDF.

The "free state" Bavaria initially refused to ratify the state treaty, and when *it finally did Radio Bavaria* refused to transfer the share of licence fees due to the ZDF.

Meanwhile, the editors worked in a barracks complex near Frankfurt, generally known as "Telesibirsk".

The future of the station was too uncertain to attract top-notch journalists. And because it is difficult for broadcasting stations to rid themselves of unsuitable staff, ZDF laboured under this for a long time.

It is only recently that ZDF began to make use of its streamlined and centralised organisation. While ARD is gradually choking on its conflicts of interests and making inadequate use of its enormous staff, ZDF gradually managed to rid itself of the odium of parochialism, gaining in stature, standard and self-assurance.

It has meanwhile turned out fortuitous that ZDF no longer produces in its own studios but commissions outside producers.

While in the ARD those who initially came up with ideas resorted to the courts to obtain permanent employment (on the basis of legislation stipulating that freelancers whose position is similar to that of a permanent staff member are entitled to permanent employment, ed.) ZDF managed to retain its reservoir of creative outsiders.

Major changes in the programme structure have come from Mainz in the past few years, among them the earlier start of the evening programme (7pm instead of 8pm.), such series as "Citizens Ask, Politicians Answer" and stepped-up reporting on cultural affairs.

Generally, the second TV programme is more varied than the first (ARD) — primarily because ZDF has to integrate those programmes which ARD likes to pass on to the third (more demanding) programme.

There is no shortage of hopeful vistas in Mainz.

"Television must once more become eventful," says programme director Dieter Stolte. "The presentation must be reconsidered; the humour deficit reduced, and full use must be made of a centralised institution's ability to react swiftly to current events and to abolish ritualised procedures."

And newly elected director-general von Hase even goes so far as to promise the unheard of: "I will apply primarily professional criteria in filling vacancies."

Prospects are not bad. The newly-elected director-general owes no special thanks to any particular party since he was accepted by all. Editor-in-chief Appel, although an SPD sympathiser, is a journalist and not a functionary and even programme director Stolte (CDU sympathiser) is no pliable tool of the party executive.

ZDF thus has a fair wind.

Michael Schwarze

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 April 1978)

Pilot cable TV project to cost DM200m

Pilot cable television schemes are to be tried in Munich, Ludwigsburg and Berlin, with costs for the three-year trial in Munich estimated at DM200 million.

The advent of cable television could mean that people will in future no longer need to go outside their own four walls. All the chores for which people now have to go outside can be done via a home TV studio-shopping, paying bills, going to the doctor, work, leisure, contacts with friends and neighbours, further education, participation in political events. All needs could be satisfied and duties performed by cable television.

The citizen of the future would thereby render himself completely unnecessary.

The cable that connects the man within his own four walls with his neighbour and the wide world is already so advanced technically that it could be used for the purposes described above.

Cable television is so called because of the thick coaxial cable used. More correctly, it should be called telecommunication or wide wave-length viewers.

The range of cable TV is far greater than wireless radio and TV. At the moment people in West Germany have a maximum of six channels to choose from on TV. The revolutionary cable TV could provide anything from 30 to 40 programmes.

More significantly, the TV viewer can make contact with the central TV studios and with other TV viewers via cable TV. National and international connections via radio and satellite range even to the obscurest parts of the globe.

Letters: would be mere relics of the good old days and marketed among collectors on the Antiques channel. The telephone would be replaced by the communication machine which would also produce a facsimile newspaper with the latest news.

All these innovations could be reality within the next generation. Politicians and media experts are now discussing how this new technology can be used cheaply and for the benefit of the viewers.

The costs of a nationwide cable network alone are estimated at DM25,000 million and it is unlikely to be built for a good while yet.

At the moment the cable has a range of only 25 kilometres, after which the reception quality deteriorates. This is why the new technology seems ideally suited for local communication. The greater the density of population in a given area, the more favourable the cost-effect ratio.

The DM200 million cost of the pilot cable scheme in Munich includes the cost of the cable network which would serve 50,000 households between Isarvorstadt and Neuperlach, a fixed fee of DM600 for installation by the Bundespost, a flat rate of DM10 per month and estimated costs of using radio services of DM60 million.

We will not know if these estimates are accurate until technical preparations have been completed. The scheme will probably be financed from TV licence money and taxes.

The individual households attached to the cable network will pay their share but this will be nothing like enough to cover the investment costs.

And not everyone is going to fork out the DM3000 to DM4000 for the cable TV receiver without knowing what they are going to get for their money.

The organisers of the scheme are to try out a number of programme alternatives to make the range more attractive. The TV consumers themselves will decide the future of cable TV.

Several kinds of programme are technically feasible. First there are those basically similar to the TV programmes broadcast by the three German channels and the nearby foreign channels.

Then there is local TV, in which local news would be transmitted.

Thirdly, services the cable TV could transmit theatre and film programmes, forthcoming events, the latest news, and give consumer advice.

Fourthly, some channels would be reserved for communication between citizens. The planners envisage interest groups and individuals making their own programmes.

The Munich network will be controlled by Bavarian Radio and TV, which means that for the pilot scheme at least cable TV is under the control of a public corporation and all social groups are to have equal access.

In other Länder such as Hesse the possibility of private cable TV is being discussed. The main argument put forward by its advocates is that there is no

Continued on page 5

■ SECURITY

Terrorism trial promises to be another marathon

The trial before the Berlin Supreme Court of six alleged terrorists began on April 11.

The six, members of the "June 2 Movement", are accused of the attempted kidnapping and murder of Presiding Judge of the West Berlin Supreme Court Günter von Drenkmann on November 10 1974 and of kidnapping and demanding ransom for the Berlin CDU leader Peter Lorenz 1975 on 27 February just a few days before the elections to the Berlin Senate.

They are also accused of numerous bank robberies in which they got away with over DM850,000.

West Berlin Justice Senator Professor Jürgen Baumann (SPD) said: "I am afraid this trial could become another Stammheim in length. If the trial on the major counts is over within a year it will be a miracle."

The parallels to the Stammheim trial are unmistakable. As in Stammheim, the court building inside Berlin Moabit prison has been rebuilt though for a mere DM4 million, nothing like the amount spent on Stammheim.

Remarkably enough, despite the strict security measures, none of the lawyers involved will be searched before the trial. This means they will not, as in a number of other terrorist cases, be asked to unzip their flies before entering the court.

As in the case of Judge Prinzing at Stammheim, the authorities have had difficulty finding a presiding judge. It has finally been decided that Friedrich Geus is to preside.

In previous cases, Geus acquitted the former Nazi judge Hans-Joachim Reese, Karl Heinz Kurras, the policeman who shot student Benno Ohnesorg during a demonstration against the Shah of Persia, and the former lawyer Horst Mahler.

There has been a considerable amount of formal legal pre-trial sparring in Berlin.

Four defence lawyers who expressed doubts in a telegram that the Stammheim deaths were suicides were excluded from the trial. Two defence challenges on grounds of partiality were rejected.

Then there was the long dispute about whether, in view of Berlin's special status, the trial could be held in the city at all. The decision has delayed the trial for almost a year and no doubt will play an important part during the trial itself.

A number of seats have been reserved especially for Allied trial observes.

The State Prosecutor has prepared for a war of attrition.

There is the evidence of Drenkmann's widow. She says on 10 November 1974, the day after her husband's 64th birthday, Ralf Reinders and two other people entered her flat in Charlottenburg. Reinders was disguised as a flower delivery man.

A flower seller has identified Juliane Plambeck as the woman who bought the flowers. Frau Plambek, Gabriele Rollnik and Inge Viett escaped from West Berlin women's prison two years ago and are all still at large.

This kind of evidence can prove highly problematic. The State Prosecutor has therefore drawn the net of evidence extremely carefully and extremely tight.

The 230-page indictment goes back to 1967 and 1968. It establishes connections between *Schwarze Hilfe* and the *Hash Rebels*, some of whose members formed a group first called Blues and later the June 2 Movement at the beginning of the 70s.

However this alleged continuity between the extra-parliamentary opposition and the terrorist organisation is none too convincing when closely examined. In 1973, the June 2 Movement consisted only of Reinders and Inge Viett. All the other members were recruited later.

The prosecution has compiled detailed lists of all cars stolen and used by the accused from the beginning of 1974 onwards. It has also listed the "conspiratorial" flats and garages they used while in hiding.

They had 12 hideouts in West Berlin. The accused also frivolously and quite unnecessarily left behind a large amount of material from which the prosecution has been able to put together an impressive mosaic of incriminatory evidence.

Among this is the DM10,000 donation to the CDU from construction company owner Karl Klingbeil which Peter Lorenz had with him when he was kidnapping. The cheque was found in the group's centre of operations in the sealed Lorenz cell in Schenkendorfstrasse in Kreuzberg. The fingerprints of Reinders and Viett are on them. There are also fingerprints of Meyer. There is a huge amount of incriminatory evidence of this kind.

The State Prosecutor will call 599 witnesses. If necessary a six hundredth witness is available: Reiner Hochstein, now on remand in Hamburg. Hochstein, 39 claims to have been closely connected with the June 2 Movement for many years. Last year he made a thorough and detailed confession.

The accused are:

Ralf Reinders, 31, one of four children of a fitter; offset operator without regular work since April 1969; from autumn 1971 underground; in prison since 9 September 1975.

Ronald Fritzsch, 26, youngest of five children, father locksmith; lorry driver with basic school certificate; in prison since 28 April 1975.

Gerald Klöpper, 23, one of seven children of alcoholic father; elementary schol, apprenticeship as mechanic not completed; stagehand and welder; sentenced to borstal for drug offences in 1971; in prison since April 28, 1975.

Till Meyer, youngest of six children of an interpreter who died shortly after his son's birth; unfinished apprenticeship as painter, sailor; not accepted for military service because of heart complaint; sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 1972 in Bielefeld for various offences; escaped from prison, 1973, arrested on June 6 1976.

Fritz Teufel, 34, youngest of six children, father accountant; formerly prominent in the extra-parliamentary opposition, ex-student; after prison sentence, moved to Munich 1973; arrested on September 13 1975.

Andreas Vogel, one of two children of a plumber; parents divorced shortly after his birth; in trouble with youth authorities at an early age; boarding school; in prison since February 1975.

Otto Jörg Weis

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 April 1978)

Police chief warns of new terror drive

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Terrorists evidently want to make up for defeats in the past months by intensified national and international cooperation and by recruiting, according to the Federal Criminal Investigation Office (BKA).

A recruiting drive has been started, while at the same time the formerly independent terrorist organisations in the Federal Republic of Germany are to become a unified assault force.

"The terrorist scene in the Federal Republic of Germany consists of a uniform group with many ties, which, in order to give the impression of strength, uses different labels such as RAF, Movement Second June, Revolutionary Cells, etc.," said the president of the BKA, Horst Herold, in a *dpa* interview.

The number of hard-core terrorists known by name was 60, Herr Herold said, with a total not exceeding 70. The number of still unknown activists is estimated by the BKA at a maximum of 15.

According to the BKA boss, terrorists are now trying to gain recruits — above all leftist intellectuals and ex-university students.

Further reinforcements are expected from sentenced terrorists once they have served their terms.

"Only an insignificant number of these has given up. From our experience, we must anticipate that released terrorists will go underground again," Herr Herold said.

Leaders like Andreas Baader, who even in prison laid claim to leadership until his death, no longer exist on today's terrorist scene. *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 April 1978)

Catholic bishops call for social self-examination

Catholic bishops have called on West Germans to examine themselves and to change their way of life to meet the threat of terrorism.

They have also called on politicians to preserve human values in dealing with one other and in carrying out their duties.

A statement by the German Bishops' Conference on Terrorism says: "Political decisions and political style must be governed by respect for life and man's environment rather than by consumption and waste."

It calls on researchers, teachers, artists and journalists to "show more awareness of the future of our society."

The statement was passed by the permanent council of the Bishops' Conference in Würzburg.

In a review of the causes of terrorism in the Federal Republic of Germany the bishops say the terrorist movement started with "vistas of a society of total justice and equality."

"As sketchy and inexact as this formulation might be, it delineates the 'ideal' of those who ten years ago rehearsed rebellion, leading to the terror of today."

The paper says radical opposition to German institutions is a mental attitude that can lead to terrorism. It has virtually become fashionable to be critical of all institutions.

Marriage, family, church and state are depicted as suspected of "curtailing the freedom of the individual, making him the serf of others and narrowing his scope of action."

The bishops say people should consider that in many blueprints the course of science and society has been severed from a basis beyond doubt.

"Criticism and, indeed, constant negation are being propagated as a new ethical attitude."

But this very ethos must tolerate the question of the consequences and effects of such an abbreviated and one-sided thought model.

The yardsticks and ideas in German society are increasingly "determined by pragmatic considerations."

"The correspondence of substances and aims of mankind is becoming increasingly shallow."

The symbols of this pragmatic way of life, according to the bishops, are "the countless utility objects which we enjoy for a moment and then throw away." These throwaway things are symbolic of throwaway values.

The politicians, say the bishops, are called upon to make use of the bases of human coexistence. Citizens are to practice a new way of life which would encompass determination, clarity, courage, frankness, tolerance and the willingness to come to an understanding and forgive. *ddp*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 April 1978)

Cable TV plan

Continued from page 4

broadcasting limit on cable TV as there is on the state TV channels.

The large number of unsolved financial, planning and legal problems have led to a lessening of cable TV euphoria in the past few years. The Kassel pilot project, for instance, was postponed.

Hessian Prime Minister Holger Börner expressed grave doubts recently about the value of cable TV and went so far as to ask "whether all the electronic media do not encourage increasing isolation and passivity in the family, the neighbourhood and the local community."

Politicians, town planners and social experts have in recent years been thinking hard about ways of involving citizens more in town and local community life.

Pedestrian zones have been set up, communication centres built and street theatres financed, all to draw the citizen out of the isolation of his home. The idea is to put more into towns and local communities and the schemes have been quite successful.

The prospect that these newly-created opportunites for meeting and communication could soon be made redundant because people will be sitting at home all day watching cable TV is not inviting. *Petra Dorsch*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 April 1978)

■ TRADE

Decisions needed as Tokyo Round closing date looms

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

The official closing date for the Tokyo Round of Gatt, which coincides with the mid-July World Economic Summit, will only convince naive optimists that the Bonn Summit will be able to celebrate two good solutions.

A detailed analysis three months before that date suggests that top politicians will find, themselves in the role of a *deus ex machina* in order to demonstrate economic scope of action in at least one project.

Having voiced its disappointment over the unsatisfactory proposals of the United States, Japan and Canada at the Geneva Round, the ECC started a withdrawal, reducing its offer of average tariff reductions of 40 per cent to 25 to 30 per cent unless the other parties improved their proposals.

The Japanese proposals were reduced to only just 20 per cent and the American proposals to 30 per cent by excluding such important products as special steel, ballbearings, TV sets, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, aircraft and nuclear reactors.

Comparing the present mood of delegation heads with their optimistic statements in early January, brings one to the bleak forrecasts of Mr Strauss, head of the American delegation, in case the talks break down. They are as timely as the warnings by Japan's Foreign Trade Minister Ushiba of a further wave of protectionism should negotiations collapse.

But declarations of principles will be best forgotten in the next few weeks. What matters now is not only to arrive at concrete arrangements but also to find out whether certain generous concessions are not intended as a means of establishing other protectionist lines of defence.

Experience with the Kennedy Round (1964 to 1967) justifies such scepticism.

The agreements in that Round were subsequently watered down by numerous "voluntary" agreements between exporting and importing countries and by "orderly marketing agreements."

The much-vaunted non-tariff barriers — as experience with the United States and Canada amply demonstrates — start with value assessment for tariff purposes. According to the Geneva list, there are now 800 such measures, ranging from quota restrictions and export subsidies to different national health, safety, packaging and marking regulations.

It is particularly difficult to arrive at binding agreements in this field.

Standards, government purchases and import licences have been the subject of lively discussions, especially in the past few months.

The issue of subsidies as a reaction against offset levies charged by other countries has also been regularly discussed. The questions are: should these levies be deemed justified only if it can be proved that a country's industry has been damaged through subsidised exports of other countries? Are reimbursements of VAT in the case of exports to be deemed inadmissible subsidies?

Here the talks have barely progressed.

A particularly difficult problem is agricultural negotiations. According to the Americans, a failure would bring down the entire trade package in Congress.

On the other hand, a US proposal to negotiate a special steel agreement has met with little response.

The communiqués issued in Geneva, according to which good progress was made in one or other sector or according to which "talks were progressing better than anticipated", mean very little.

The bottlenecks in the final phase of talks are programmed. Success or failure in Geneva will not depend on the sagacity of the delegations but on whether there is a political desire on the highest level to find an acceptable deal.

It must also be taken into account that the US President's authority to issue exemptions runs out at the end of 1978.

Congress, not exactly inclined to make concessions, is an important factor in the negotiating tactics of the US delegation. Here one can only speculate.

After the interim stocktaking planned in Geneva and the penultimate attempt to arrive at a solution, it is time to tie up the politically saleable packages as attractively as possible. As EEC chief delegate Paul Luyten said, major tariff manoeuvres should be dealt with first.

The contention of the vice-president of the EEC Commission, Wilhelm Haferkampü that the talks are so important for world trade that they must succeed can be seen as wishful thinking.

Since the federal government will chair the EEC Council of Ministers at the time of the Summit, Bonn should display some ambition.

After the Summit general statements of intent will no longer get us anywhere.

Gerd Janssen
(Handelsblatt, 12 April 1978)

Growth target's deeper aims

At the EEC Summit of Copenhagen, the heads of government stuck to the ambitious growth target of 4.5 per cent for the whole community until mid-1979.

This is to usher in the longed-for upswing and help reduce unemployment in the nine member states, at six million.

Last year, the EEC set itself a four per cent growth target, achieving only two.

This time there is every likelihood that growth will again fall short of the target.

Despite the high incidence of wrong forecasts, the governments decided to announce their 4.5 per cent target to demonstrate willingness to take political action and because they believe that one must only want a thing for it to materialise.

But behind the Copenhagen target there is also the more or less clearly voiced wish, addressed to Chancellor Schmidt as the representative of the richest EEC country, to pave the way for swifter growth among Germany's neighbours through its home economic policy.

But Germany's function as the economic locomotive has its limits.

Due to a wrong assessment of the scope for state intervention in the Federal Republic (generally considered as very efficient), it has been overlooked that citizens' initiatives and the courts are blocking thousands of millions worth of investments in, among other things, power stations, road construction.

The monetary ideas aired in Copenhagen must be taken much more seriously than the growth target. They are a consequence of the US policy aimed at permitting the dollar exchange rate to topple way below its actual value to gain advantages on world markets.

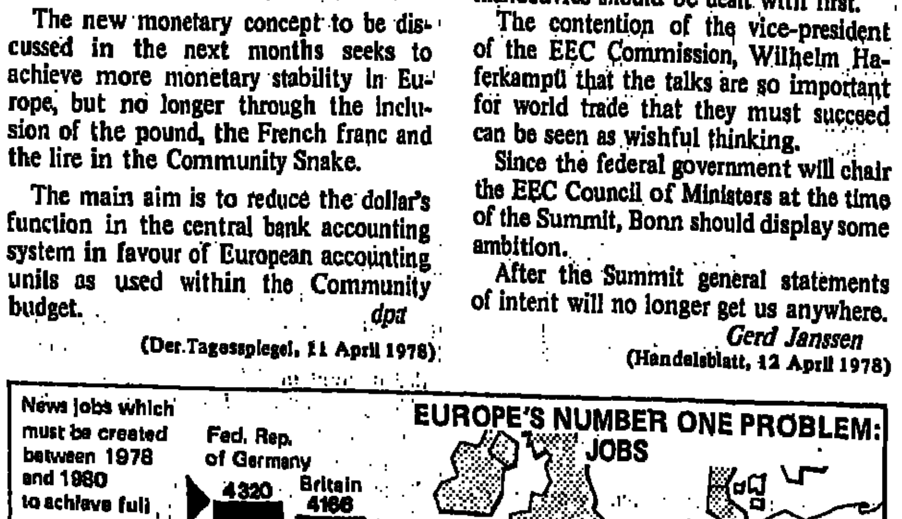
The export goods of the German, Danish and Benelux industries (the member nations of the Snake) thus become excessively expensive.

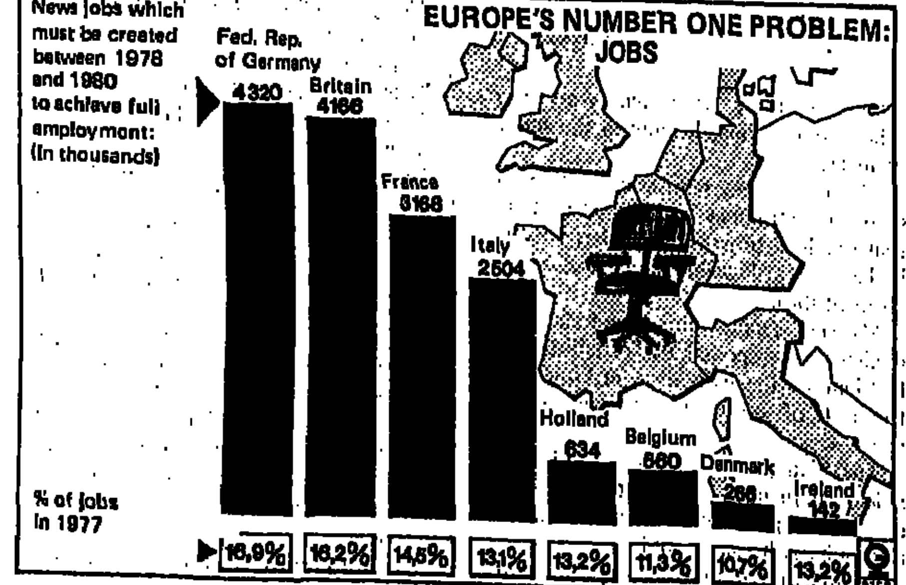
Soft currency countries of the Community are moving in step with the dollar on foreign exchange markets. But this only means that they will be faced with new balance of payments problems due to increased oil prices once the Arab states seek to offset the erosion of capital caused by the dollar weakness.

The new monetary concept to be discussed in the next months seeks to achieve more monetary stability in Europe, but no longer through the inclusion of the pound, the French franc and the lire in the Community Snake.

The main aim is to reduce the dollar's function in the central bank accounting system in favour of European accounting units as used within the Community budget.

dpa
(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 April 1978)





European unit hangs over finance talks

Monetary negotiations in the next few months will be dominated by the intention of the EEC Summit in Copenhagen to uncouple from the dollar.

The objective is for the Community countries (if possible with non-EEC European states) to issue invoices for trade between each other and the oil-producing countries in an accounting unit based on European currencies.

But no answer was given in Copenhagen on the practicability of such a European currency. As Belgium's Prime Minister Leo Tindemans said, this involves not only monetary-technical but also fundamental political problems.

According to Tindemans, the heads of governments will, in the next few days, explore the plan put forward by French President Giscard d'Estaing in bilateral talks.

EEC Finance Ministers, due to meet in Luxembourg shortly, will discuss the consequences of the Copenhagen Summit, since the decision on closer monetary cooperation rests with them.

But the Council of Finance Ministers will at first only commission subordinate Community authorities (Committee of the Central Bank Governors, Monetary Committee and Economic Affairs Committee) to explore the issue.

The results go to the next European Summit, to be chaired by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bremen on 6 and 7 July.

The Community will then present the European concept for the recovery of the world economy at the mid-July World Economic Summit.

In view of the dollar crisis and the attendant trade disadvantages for the EEC on the one hand and the growing strength of European currencies on the other, „circumstances force the EEC to develop a system for the stabilisation of exchange rates," said President Giscard d'Estaing.

Information from Brussels is that France's ideas centre on making the European Snake more suited to the present situation.

At present, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark and the Benelux countries are the only EEC members of the Snake.

Present fluctuation within the Snake, restricted to 4.5 per cent and for which the central banks provide supporting funds, could be extended to 10 per cent.

Compared with the fluctuations of other major currencies, this would still make for a relatively stable European currency bloc.

The accounting unit is based on a European currency basket and equals DM 2.25. Up to now, it has only been used within the EEC budget in connection with things such as development aid and agriculture.

Mr Jenkins recommends extending its use, initially for foreign exchange credits and the internal regulating of exchange rates.

An institutionalised European currency parallel to the dollar could also take on other dollar functions once the present international monetary system has been abolished.

The dollar, says Mr Jenkins, demonstrates "how legions without a supreme command still dominate the world's monetary transactions."

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 April 1978)

■ BUSINESS

Cartel Office clamps down on publishing takeovers

The Federal Cartel Office in West Berlin is clamping down on publishers trying to expand their empires.

"Although extreme caution is necessary when dealing with mammoth publishers, the recent practice of the Cartel Office makes not only the big ones shake in their boots," says Günther Kress, publisher of the *Stuttgarter Informationsdienst für Kommunikation und Werbung* (Stuttgart information service for communication and advertising) on the latest watchdog office decision.

The Cartel Office acted when the Bertelsmann Publishing concern (publishers of such prestigious magazines as *Stern, Brigitte, Kapital*), whose 1978 turnover is expected to reach a staggering DM3,000 million and which ranks fifth among the world's media giants, attempted to buy yet another company.

Bertelsmann was interested in the medium-sized (annual turnover DM9 million) Deutscher Verkehrsverlag, Hamburg, publisher of trade journals such as *Deutsche Verkehrszeitung* (German transport paper) and *Der Spediteur* (the freight forwarder).

The Cartel Office objected to the takeover of *Deutsche Verkehrszeitung*, having calculated that the Bertelsmann concern, which publishes *Verkehrsrundschau* (transport panorama), would gain a dominant position on the trade magazine market for freight forwarding if it were to incorporate *Deutsche Verkehrszeitung*.

Following a merger, the Cartel Office maintains, Bertelsmann would control 77 per cent of the circulation and 55 per cent of the advertising business in this market. Moreover, this dominant position would be cemented by the concern's considerable financial resources.

The two companies involved consider the decision unjustified.

According to Bertelsmann executive Helmut Schachenmayer, this contention is based on a wrong vantage point in viewing the market. There were more than 60 such trade journals in the Federal Republic.

Bertelsmann also protested against the Cartel Office's "resource theory", saying that every insider knew that market shares in trade journals could not be captured and maintained by so-called resources (finance, market access, printing capacity).

The envisaged acquisition, Bertelsmann said, did involve resources but in a different sense: none of the other (mostly medium-sized) trade journal publishers could have afforded to buy a company of the size of *Deutscher Verkehrsverlag*.

The Cartel Office decision is being contested at Berlin's highest court.

It is the second thumbs-down in this business sector since a stricter press merger law came into effect in mid-1976.

At the beginning of February 1978, the Cartel Office blocked a 50 per cent participation by Axel Springer Verlag in the (Hamburg) Elbe Wochenblatt Verlag, a Hamburg advertising paper publisher.

The case revolved around competition between dailies, for most of which advertising is vital, and the advertising papers distributed free and which make their money from advertising.

Having founded the advertising paper *Hamburger Wochenblatt* (12 city borough editions) in September 1976 — total circulation 345,000 — and bought equities in three other advertising papers, Springer attempted to justify his participation in the *Elbe Wochenblatt* by pointing to the competition his newspapers faced from the advertising papers *Rundschau* and *Blickpunkt* published by Hanse Rundschau Verlag, whose total circulation stood at 904,700 at the end of August 1977.

The Cartel Office rejected the argument, saying that the production of the Hanse Rundschau Verlag has shrunk to five papers with a total circulation of 110,000, notwithstanding a 55 per cent participation by the leading Dutch publishers Nederlandse Dagblatt Unie.

The office also said that advertising in Springer papers had not diminished.

The Berlin watchdog office said of Springer: "Axel Springer Verlag has a dominating position among Hamburg dailies and is by far the largest publisher of advertising papers in that city. This is a serious danger to the advertising business of other Hamburg dailies.

"The merger would consolidate Axel Springer's dominating position on the newspaper advertising market in that city."

Never having been able to decide whether Bertelsmann dominated the book and book club market, which is decisive for that publisher, and having recently announced general objection to any domestic expansion of the media concerns, the watchdogs evidently wanted to show a bite behind the bark.

The question is whether they have bitten the right leg. Especially in trade magazines, there are many publishers who want to sell for reasons of old age but cannot find buyers with enough money.

Says Günther Kress: "But the big ones are suspected of wanting a monopoly position. This means that if a smaller and less suspect company cannot help a publisher who needs a partner, death is inevitable . . . all that matters is that merger control functions."

Heidi Dürr
(Die Zeit, 7 April 1978)

Consumers are 'helpless'

The West German Taxpayers' Association says consumers are helpless when state-owned companies fail to meet their contractual obligations.

A year after coming into force, the General Terms of Business Act, which is supposed to protect the consumer, still does not apply to state-owned companies, says the association.

It also complains that there is no recourse in the supply of gas and electricity.

On the other hand, if the consumer is at fault the company demands excessive damages.

Faulty invoices have to be paid by the customer and he can lodge his complaint afterwards.

In many cases, the customer has to deposit twice his maximum anticipated consumption.

The postal authority treats its customers in the same way, benefiting from

Neue Presse

"no liability" provisions outlawed in private business.

For instance, the post office is not liable for faulty telegram transmissions even if due to gross negligence or if a telegram has deliberately been thrown in the wastepaper basket.

The postal banking service rejects liability even in serious cases such as excessive delay in the posting of transfers.

According to the Taxpayers' Association, the situation over municipalities and their services, such as sewerage, is even more scandalous.

As long as the consumer enjoys no protection in his dealings with state-owned companies, the state has no choice but to put up with the accusation of being "the bane of the consumer's life," it says.

ddp
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 1 April 1978)

Call to widen business Act

The Consumers' Association (AGV) has complained that a year after the General Terms of Business (AGB) Act came into force, the citizen still has virtually no right against state enterprises such as the railways, postal, garbage, gas and electricity authorities.

The AGB law only takes into account deals between private business and the consumer. The AGV is now making an all-out effort to change this. According to its spokesman on legal affairs, Gabriele Erkelenz, it is perfectly feasible to subject state-owned companies to the same Act.

Though the state fears that its costs would rise enormously should the law be applied, Frau Erkelenz said she hoped state-run companies were not so inefficient that they could not accept liability for gross negligence by their staff.

The federal states and municipalities, she said, should at last do something to improve consumer protection in their companies.

Private business has also been slow to implement the law, particularly small businesses which have not adapted their terms of business, says the Consumers' Association.

Even new terms of business since the AGB came into effect on 1 April 1977 are not always in line with the law.

The AGV has already issued 100 warnings and is engaged in 18 court proceedings against businesses.

Court cases against a Hamburg marriage bureau and three automobile sellers' associations have already been won. Another black sheep is the furniture business.

The AGV is not quite convinced that the law and the legal recourse it offers the consumer are adequate protection.

The AGB is intended to make it more difficult for manufacturers and retailiers to shirk responsibility by pointing to the fine print in contracts, as for instance in cases of damage claims and warranties.

The fine print is now to balance the interests of seller and buyer.

Sylvia Schneider
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 April 1978)

Court ruling shock for stock tipsters

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The *Bundesgerichtshof*, West Germany's highest court, has given a ruling that will interest investors and publishers of investment advice magazines.

There are many stockmarket services giving investors advice. Some are reputable, some not.

The uninitiated frequently find it hard to evaluate investment suggestions and lose money. In some instances, advice is based on inadequate research and arrived at by guesswork.

The *Bundesgerichtshof* has ruled that stockmarket services are liable for damages if their advice is culpably wrong.

The ruling, published in the magazine *Wertpapier-Mitteilungen* (securities information), is the result of a lawsuit filed by a real estate broker who subscribed to a stockmarket service.

This service claimed that all advice was based on the work of a team of highly-qualified analysts and careful research.

The plaintiff believed the magazine, bought a subscription and, six weeks later, followed its advice and purchased stock in a Berlin corporation.

The corporation had been depicted in a favourable light, giving details and predicting a doubling of the investment in the long run.

Instead, the business went bankrupt six months later.

The subscriber lost DM41,000 and filed suit for damages, now upheld.

To start with, the *Bundesgerichtshof* ruled that a newspaper subscription is fundamentally a purchase agreement and that claims can, as a rule, arise only from printing errors, late delivery and similar incidents.

But a stockmarket service has obligations over and above those arising from a purchase agreement. It has taken upon itself the onus of advising on investments.

The judges concluded that, while such advice need not be infallible, it entails the contractual obligation to exercise the greatest care in arriving at investment tips.

In this case, such care was not exercised because information about the recommended corporation was either wrong or misleading and rested on details provided by the business itself.

These details were given by a board member with a considerable financial stake in the company.

The fact that the author of the advice obtained information on the market value of the corporation from one of the major banks was deemed irrelevant by the court. The same applies to the fact that other investment magazines published similarly wrong forecasts.

It was equally irrelevant that the magazine specifically said that it accepted no liability. Such exclusion of liability was ineffectual because the editorial office had acted negligently.

Peter Roller
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 April 1978)

■ DEVELOPMENT AID

Four Third World projects are aid success stories

Among the most effective German development aid is that provided through the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in Eschborn, near Frankfurt.

A great deal of know-how and relatively little cash helps underdeveloped countries benefit from modern research and technology. "Help Towards Self-help" is the maxim.

GTZ's more than 2,000 experts look after 500 projects on four continents, among them exemplary developments in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Egypt.

The Sri Lanka project is an apprentice workshop, that in Bangladesh aims at modernising agriculture and the Egyptian scheme provides cold storage by solar energy.

The Ceylon-German Technical Training Institute (CGTTI) has been in existence for 17 years and is now administered by the Ceylonese.

CGTTI trains staff for the state-owned bus company, Ceylon Transport Board, which employs 55,000 and operates 7,000 buses, providing Sri Lanka's 13.5 million people with public transport.

The history of this German project goes back to 1958 when Bonn approved a Ceylonese application based on a German survey.

Staffed by German instrructors and equipped with German machinery, CGTTI was developed to its present state between 1959 and 1976. At present there are still two German workshop instructors.

The basic principle of on-the-job training was one of necessity since Sri Lanka had to import all its needs and pay for them from its meagre foreign exchange resources. A pure training institution would have been a waste.

From the very first day of their four-year apprenticeship trainees have to produce everything they will use in their work. Thriftiness is vital.

- In the first six months, the apprentices make their own toolkits from scrap.
- In the second year, they carry out simple maintenance and repair work on small buses or manufacture mobile cranes.
- In the third year, they do complete overhauls of diesel engines.
- In the fourth and last year, the trainees work in the bus depot.

Following practical and theoretical final exams, they get jobs as skilled workers with the Ceylon Transport Board.

The pride of this model project is a side-product. The trainees manufacture a VW-designed small lorry partly built from VW components.

The vehicles are made from locally-available materials such as wood, sheet metal and spare parts. The only tools used in the manufacture are metal cutters and welding equipment.

Sri Lanka is now looking for somebody to set up a commercial plant. The country could thus become exemplary in showing other underdeveloped countries how to start an automobile industry.

Bangladesh is one of the world's poorest nations. It evolved in 1971 as a result of a bloody civil war and has long been considered "a hopeless case."

Its development chances are considered better today, thanks primarily to the cattle and dairy farm Savar.

Some 30 kilometres north-west of Dacca a mainstay of the Bengali economy has been in the making since 1967. This economy is based on agriculture. Ninety per cent of the country's 80 million people live in 65,000 isolated villages with very small farms.

The Savar farm was originally intended only to secure the milk and meat supply of Dacca. But the GTZ experts soon realised that the project would only be useful if it included all activities connected with cattle breeding.

Since then some DM27 million have been poured into the farm to breed more suitable cattle, improve the cultivation of feed and establish an advice service.

When the first German experts arrived they had every reason to be discouraged. The country's 18 million cattle were used primarily as beasts of burden and there was no dairy herd along European lines. The milk yield was between 350 and 700 litres per head a year. Almost no feed was grown.

The GTZ men decided to breed suitable dairy cattle, taking the animals' other function as a beast of burden into account.

They crossed Friesians and Jerseys from Australia with local breeds.

The success was spectacular. Milk production doubled, rising to 1,400 litres.

To have the whole country benefit from the new breed of 25 per cent imported and 75 per cent local blood, a chain of insemination stations was established.

At the same time, GTZ is developing veterinary services and building creameries for the hitherto non-existent marketing of milk products.

The advice service of the Savar farm has proved particularly popular and is used regularly by the local farmers.

Progress is not hampered by the barriers of tradition. But the greater the success the greater the risks unless the project is fully established.

"We can reduce the German staff only gradually if we are not to risk everything that has been achieved," says the German head of the project.

Cold stores in the tropics operated by solar energy might seem a bold idea, but they are well on the way to reality. A model solar cold store in Cairo is about to open.

A solar absorbtion cooling plant which will refrigerate a cold storage room in Cairo, one of the German Society for Technical Cooperation's successful foreign development aid projects. (Photo: GTZ)

The solar absorbtion cooling plant commissioned by GTZ is being built by the firms Dornier and Linde.

The initial plant has a ton cubic metre cold store for food at temperatures of 0 to 3 degrees Celcius, with a 300-kilo daily turnover of goods.

This solution has three major advantages:

- The simple installations can be built by the developing nations themselves;
- They can be handled and maintained by the locals who require no specialised training;
- They can be built in remote villages.

The use of heat to produce cold is no technical problem. Given a source of heat up to 90 degrees Celcius and temperature differences of 25 degrees, it is possible to achieve cooling temperatures of 0 degrees.

Heinzgünter Klein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 April 1978)

Top Development aide 'foreign policy expert'



Dr Carl-Werner Sanne

(Photo: Sven Simon)

New Development Aid Minister Rainer Offergeld has presented his State Secretary Dr Carl-Werner Sanne as "a top foreign policy expert."

Dr Sanne, 53, was appointed in the wake of the major Cabinet reshuffle a couple of months ago.

The Bonn Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development needs at its head a civil servant with extensive foreign policy experience.

Relations between industrial and developing countries are becoming increasingly important in foreign policy.

State Secretary Sanne is also experienced in economics and worked in the Chancellery before being appointed to Development Aid, which has laboured under leadership, communications and organisational shortcomings.

His transfer could be a lucky stroke for the Federal Republic of Germany's development aid policy.

But the foreign affairs expert will be under close scrutiny over the way he represents German interests in the North-South dialogue.

Dr Sanne has been attracted by the far-flung corners of the world since his youth. This was why his first career was as a naval officer, his father's occupation.

After the war, he took a job in industry and went to university at the same time. He simultaneously finished his traineeship in business administration and his university studies of the same subject and then took a job in the Foreign Office.

As a high-ranking official of the Foreign Ministry, he became a member of this country's permanent office at the United Nations and of various international organisations in Geneva in early 1977.

Before that, he worked in the Chancellery, since 1972 as head of the Department II for foreign and intra-German relations and external security.

The transfer to the Chancellery came in 1968 when, during Willy Brandt's term as Foreign Minister, he worked on the Foreign Office planning staff, headed by the then Ambassador Egon Bahr, occupying himself with *Deutschlandpolitik* and security policy.

When Herr Bahr was appointed State Secretary in the Chancellery by Chancellor Willy Brandt, Dr Sanne followed him there.

His wish to return to foreign affairs was fulfilled in Geneva — though only for a year.

But this enabled him to establish contact with international organisations and to familiarise himself with the North-South dialogue, of paramount importance for his present work.

He gained his first development policy experience in the Foreign Office department for Morocco and Tunisia.

Dr Sanne did practical development policy work during his four years as second in command at the German embassy in Rabat.

He rejects the contention that he was virtually predestined for the job of State Secretary, saying that he still has a great deal to learn.

One new experience will be coping with the supervision of 500 staff members, the administration of the much-maligned ministry and ensuring the proper use of the DM4,000 million budget for the ministry's many subsidiary institutions.

What pleased him particularly was that a man who is not a card-carrying member of any party could become State Secretary.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 April 1978)

■ MOTORING

Tough contest for road safety prize

Germany's largest automobile club has awarded its road safety prize this year to a special programme of road safety education for pre-school children running for the last ten years.

The state of road safety education in schools has been very poor in recent years and last year the strict jury found no candidates worthy of the award.

A considerable amount of thought and money has gone into the prize-winning programme. Traffic psychologists brought out a textbook with questions for two to four-year-olds called "Preschool Road Safety Education." A parents' road safety group published a booklet entitled "Safety For Our Child."

Five training centres throughout the country have been providing special courses for kindergarten teachers to equip them to teach road safety.

Teaching and play materials, instructions, posters, safety games, information booklets, tips on how children should dress to make them clearly visible to traffic, the right choice and equipment of school buses and advice on where to build traffic playgrounds have been produced by the organisers of this scheme.

Instructors from automobile club districts gave advice to kindergarten and school authorities and parents' councils.

When the club jury was discussing the prize in their Munich central office they were sure of finding a winner this year.

For the first time in the prize's history, five candidates reached the final round. The jury found it extremely difficult to choose.

Five votes were taken and up to the end there were three kindergartens in the running, two in the Rhineland and one in South Germany. The question was which had made the greatest contribution towards increasing children's road safety awareness.

What does this mean in practical terms?

Research over a number of years has shown that small children cannot assess the speed and noise of traffic or correctly interpret the meaning of signals in all cases. It was therefore necessary to familiarise children with traffic without affecting the normal development of the sensory organs or the child's ability to react.

Children between three and six had to be prepared through play for a world not geared to children.

Educationists and psychologists have concluded that children have to lose their fear of traffic, be more reliant on their own perceptions, more confident crossing at traffic lights and zebra-crossings on the way to and from kindergarten.

But on the other hand these children should not be too confident. Too much trust in signs and signals can be fatal, as an analysis of accidents involving young children shows.

These points underline the complexity of pre-school safety training.

Training is virtually impossible without the cooperation and assistance of parents. The often very small staffs of kindergartens cannot be expected to cope with the problem alone. But in many cases parents did not show any enthusiasm for cooperating with kindergartens.



Safety first: pre-school children learn the rudiments of road safety in the traffic playground of a kindergarten in Bergisch Gladbach, Northrhine-Westphalia, which was a finalist in the national road safety prize competition. (Photo: Möllinghoff)

With thousands of kindergartens entering for the road safety prize, it is very difficult to find the best, taking into account the size of the kindergarten, the amount of time and money available, the number of teachers and the success of projects.

A shortlist of 200 was drawn up, from which automobile club experts chose 30 for the last five rounds.

At the end, there were four remaining, two from Northrhine-Westphalia, one from Bavaria and one from Baden-Württemberg.

The jury had to decide: should we award the prize to a kindergarten with excellent facilities doing exemplary work, or should we award it to a small kindergarten with a small staff which, despite this handicap, has succeeded in involving parents and children in road safety training?

There was little difference in aims, facilities and psychological road safety training between the three in the final round.

The kindergarten in Bergisch Gladbach in Northrhine-Westphalia, financed half privately, half from council funds, has a fine safety playground and a reputation gained over the past few years in this field. It was hotly tipped to win the prize.

But in the end a Düsseldorf kindergarten won a kindergarten working on a shoestring budget where all involved

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

were totally committed. The jurors hoped this would encourage similar initiatives.

They were impressed at the high degree of cooperation between parents and teachers.

The Land Hesse has started an experiment on the Mönchhof triangle on the Cologne-Frankfurt motorway. Traffic becomes single or double lane at these road works and the Hesse road authorities have decided to put up wooden boards to separate the lanes.

The idea here is to prevent collisions which frequently occur at motorway road works. Under the Hesse system, there would be two lanes of traffic in each direction and the usual road works speed limit could be raised from 80 to 100 km per hour in one direction.

This would make life easier for the millions of motorists who use the motorways going through Hessen in the summer as they head south. However, it will not be possible to apply the measure at all road works.

J.W. Reifenrath

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 April 1978)

Policy concord

Continued from page 3

relations with other states or to limit its own foreign policy scope any more than necessary. The success of this strategy has not been great. It is clear that the CDU is highly embarrassed by Strauss's recent anti-American outbrusts.

There is a large number of politicians within the CDU who believe that not to much importance should be attached to Strauss's opinions as he does not decide the party's policies. This is correct, though the CDU usually applauds enthusiastically when Strauss speaks in the Bundestag. These CDU circles also argue that one should not confuse the CDU with the German nationalists and representatives of refugee groups. There is truth in this, but it is precisely these nationalists who dominate at question time and in many debates.

Both groups are for the time being at least very much alive and kicking.

Similar though Genscher and Kohl may be on foreign policy (though Kohl, to placate the present mood of his party, does not stress this closeness), close though the cooperation between Genscher and Mertes is, the public and a large number of MPs still consider the gaps between them to be wide.

Citizens and MPs would be surprised if they were told what insiders in the CDU have long taken for granted: that foreign policy would not be very different under a CDU Chancellor. The vociferous public debates not only disguise that willingness to listen to the other sides point of view is now greater. They also tend to hide the fact that many Social Democrats, from Bahr to Wehner, find it difficult to accept all of Genscher's policies.

These differences are not aired publicly but within the coalition. This does not, however, make the gap between the positions any narrower.

The rigid system of confrontation with the Opposition which characterised the first years of the present coalition has loosened somewhat. It has been replaced by a complicated network of cooperation reminiscent of the days of Gerhard Schröder, who pursued his foreign policies with SPD support and in face of considerable scepticism within his own party.

For the time being, those who rejected the *Ostpolitik* and those who share Herr Strauss's apocalyptic visions ensure that divisions between government and Opposition remain in the forefront and the many points of agreemenr remain invisible or unremarked.

Rolf Zundel

(Die Zeit, 14 April 1978)

Tests show up fear of car passengers

Frankfurter Rundschau

Experiments by the ADAC (The German Automobile Association) have shown that front seat passengers who can drive are extremely nervous immediately before and as the driver starts the car.

Their pulse and blood pressure rises, their foreheads, hands and feet sweat abnormally, reactions which do not occur when they are driving their own cars.

Driver passengers felt their stomachs fluttering and were alarmed at the thought that there was nothing they could do if the driver made a mistake.

In the ADAC experiment, ten men and women, all with driving licences and driving experience, were tested. They drove a special measurement car of the Institute for Road Traffic in and around Munich, sometimes driving, sometimes in the passenger seat. The driving partner in each case was husband, wife or colleague.

Highly sensitive measuring devices tested reactions. Fine wires attached to breast and forehead measured heart beat frequency and skin resistance, from which conclusions could be drawn about the occupants' state of mind.

In the case of passengers, this state of mind was far from healthy, according to Professor Wolf Müller-Limmroth, director of the Work Physiology Institute of Munich Technical University.

"These passengers who have to sit patiently and watch their partners drive are under greater stress than the drivers themselves."

All passengers felt fear. There were merely slight differences in the way this manifested itself. There were the sufferers in silence who sat staring straight ahead, feet pressed on the ground with only one thought in their minds: "I want to get out of here as quick as I can."

Then there were the warning types, whose main concern was to avert what they believed to be impending disaster. They told the driver when they saw something coming from the right and shouted stop when frightened. They changed gear and braked mentally all the time.

There was another category, talkative, cheerful types who tried to disguise their fear by continually commenting about what was happening on the roads. Like children singing in the woods to hide their fear, they told tales of their own road experience.

The energetic passengers were continually asking the driver to be careful. They even threatened to get out if the driver did not use his rear mirror more often.

ADAC traffic psychologist Hans Peter Seemann said the calmest passengers with the blindest faith in their driver's skill were those without driving licences.

Seemann recommended that drivers and passengers should, after every dangerous situation, get out and work off their stress by doing a few knees bend. Constant niggling never improved anyone's driving. The passenger's duty was to keep calm.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 April 1978)

■ THEATRE

Youth give difficult Müller play multi-media treatment

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Controversial Cologne director Hansgünther Heyme has produced the first German Production of GDR playwright Heiner Müller's dramatic fragment *Prometheus*.

Müller adapted the Aeschylus original into dialectical verse. In writing the play, Müller was interested in "the contradiction between achievement and vanity, consciousness and suffering, immortality and the fear of death."

Prometheus, an extremely concentrated and demanding work, was premiered in Zürich in 1967-68. Müller himself says: "You can't read it word for word unless you read it out loud."

The actors in Heyme's production are not professionals but young members of the Critical Theatre Youth Clubs who have spent a year-and-a-half working on the play.

A slogan outside the theatre, a converted bread factory in Ehrenfeld, Cologne, reads: "A play that zaps you." In the foyer there are rehearsal photos which give a good impression of this modern version of the Prometheus legend, a theatrical adventure under Müller's sceptical motto: "Art is weaker than might."

Theatregoers crowd into the cramped room and sit on tattered chairs. They are part of the scene. *Zeus is watching you,* they read in silver and gold.

They see a Bunny girl and two toughguys, three foot Siamese twins, on the stage. These two turn out to be Kratos and Bia, power and force, who help to pin Prometheus to the rocks and generally make sure that law and order are maintained.

There is no clear division between the audience and the actors. A banner reads *Theatre is out but TV is in.* On a makeshift hunting stand we see Prometheus.

A band takes up position and the chorus of the Oceanides turns out to be a bunch of punk rockers and their groupies. In a glass cage we see about a dozen young girls, isolated and desirable, unapproachable — *they all add up to Io,* the beloved of Zeus, who is hunted through the world by Hera.

Io is not played by one actress, she represents the general concept of woman, hence her many forms. Oceanos too appears in many forms, sifting sand on the sea floor. The story is told over loudspeakers. We hear the slogan: *high sein / frei sein / Prometheus / dabeisein.*

The Critical Theatre Youth Club in Cologne has been in existence for ten years. It has good contacts with the main city theatres, has its own playwright, premieres and rehearsals. When Franz Wedekind's *Frühlings Erwachen* (Spring's Awakening) was performed in 1975, youth club members played the pupils' parts. In 1976 Hansgünther Heyme suggested that the club should perform Müller's *Prometheus*. Heyme is one of the club's three-man team of directors.

The young man who plays Prometheus says: "I didn't know the play or the author. That didn't bother me. The main thing was that it was theatre." They spent six months working doggedly on the text, trying to understand it.

Heyme could not help them much at this stage, he was too involved in his production of *Faust 2*. Then he presented his conception of how the work should be played. The young actors were all for it — Prometheus as film, Io as chorus, the chorus as a band.

Working parties got down to rehearsals. Professionals were called in to do the stage design, costumes, composition and audiovisuals. When Heyme had finished work on Lohenstein's *Epicharis*, the final rehearsals began.

The young man who plays Prometheus says: "It was important for me that Heyme did not correspond to the standard image of the monstrous director with unpredictable quirks and mannerisms that you are always reading about in the newspapers. He is a nice, normal person. He has ideas and he knows what he wants ..."



A dramatic moment in Heiner Müller's *Prometheus* performed by the Critical Theatre Youth Club of Cologne.

The youngsters are not scared to say what they think about the production. In the theatre programe, we read "the level of cooperation was not good, we weren't really a team ... The play was too difficult to understand — is this an advantage?"

Doubt is cast on whether the review helps the audience to understand the text: "We are doing too much. The ideas all crowd one another out ... I can't help feeling that we could have done the whole thing quite differently."

Of course disappointments were inevitable. Acting is a hobby for these young people but over the last 18 months they have been slogging away at this play and some of the novelty has worn off. But this is more than compensated for by all that they have learnt.

The play can now begin. It opens with music and the chorus. Kratos and Bia appear in the guise of vulgar carnival revellers, conventional but dangerous. They speak Cologne slang, fragments of which are translated over the louspeakers. Prometheus is a giant mouth on the screen, the motionless boy is wearing a sheep's head mask to symbolise simplicity.

It is a typical Heyme production, the director making the best possible use of the lay actor's freshness, their — in the best sense of the word — dilettante approach.

A multimedia approach is used to help us understand. Müller has said he is interested in the contradictions within the Aeschylus original. This version does not make it instantly comprehensible but it does bring it up to date, though not crudely or trendily.

Müller writes of the play: "The question of the aesthetic quality — i.e. the quality that goes beyond the mere transmission of information — is political.

"The *Communist Manifesto* is quite different from *Das Kapital*, the meaning of pop music for the anti-authoritarian movement was not only in the information." Heyme puts these insights into practice, using not dry didacticism but plethorally pleasurable dialectic.

The superhuman suffering of Prometheus, punished by Zeus for giving mankind the useful and dangerous gift of fire, is not merely literary in this version. Yet the aesthetic distance which is necessary if we are to learn from it is maintained. Heyme's ensemble is well-disciplined and shows an astonishing mastery of language. Prometheus, the Io chorus and the group of Cologne youngsters who appear at the beginning are particularly worthy of mention.

The Oceanides were asked to do too much choreographically and were not up to the task, but they performed their musical numbers excellently and were raspingly impressive in the interchanges with Prometheus.

The music, based on the natural rhythm of Müller's language, is a collage of pop and punkt parody and quotation and went down well with the young audience.

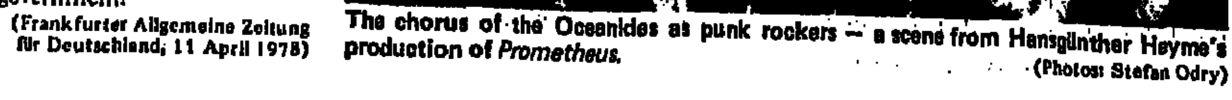
Prometheus only speaks in the last verse: "You see me suffering injustice patiently." The rest of the time the text comes over the loudspeaker. At the end of the play there was loud applause for the actors and for Heyme, who has been given a rough time in Cologne and will soon be leaving the city to take up a post elsewhere.

The citizens of Ehrenfeld got hot under the collar about the slogans on the theatre facade and the local council ordered them taken down. Perhaps they will be more conciliatory when the word gets round about this play. One of the young co-directors wrote: "We have leapt over the barrier built out of words. Was it an easy leap. Soon we will know what the author thinks. Heiner Müller is coming to see the production.

Heinz Klunker

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 9 April 1978)





The chorus of the Oceanides as punk rockers — a scene from Hansgünther Heyme's production of *Prometheus*. (Photos: Stefan Odry)

International play festival for Hamburg

The annual *Theatre of Nations* festival organised by the Theatre Institute, which is attached to Unesco, is to be held in Hamburg in 1979, the first time it has been held in West Germany.

In recent years the festival has been held in Warsaw (1975), Belgrade (1976), Paris and Avignon (1977). This year it is in Caracas.

The German section of the Theatre Institute will be responsible for the artistic preparation and organisation of the festival, to be held from 20 April to 13 May 1979.

Ivan Nagel, director of the German Playhouse in Hamburg, is head of the German section.In addition to proper theatres, the fish market hall in St. Pauli, the Fabrik communication entre, still being rebuilt, and the Markthalle near the main railway station will be used to stage plays. A subsidy of DM 1,7 miilion will go into the festival, half provided by Hamburg, the other half by the central government.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1978)

■ CULTURE

The man who died because he would not sing along

Writer and journalist Erich Mühsam was born in Berlin a hundred years ago this mouth, on April 6 1978.

He grew up in Lübeck and from 1909 lived in Munich. Later he moved back to Berlin. There was nothing intellectually arrogant about Mühsam. He took social questions very seriously and did not, like many other literati, merely talk about them.

He identified himself with the less privileged and fought for their rights. This soon brought him a reputation as an anarchist. His Munich friends Franz Wedekind, Gustav Meyrink, Peter Hille, Paul Scheerbart were not as committed, some of them not committed at all.

Mühsam and his friends were members of the Munich Simplicissimus circle. Joachim Ringelnatz has described the first time he looked into the artists' pub Simpl: "People were sitting cramped around tables with white tablecloths. A young man with a long beard, piercing eyes and delicate hands was standing on one of these tables reading a poem called *Es war einmal ein Revoluzzer* (Once upon a time was a Bolshie). I asked some students standing nearby who it was. 'What! You don't know? You ought to be ashamed of yourself!' they answered. And I really was ashamed of myself. An elderly flowerseller told me who it was. The man on the table was the well-born anarchist Erich Mühsam."

Mühsam and Erich Toller were members of the Revolutionary Workers' Council of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. Mühsam wrote the republic's proclamations, for which he was later sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

In 1924 Mühsam was released under an amnesty. His time in Ansbach prison had not been wasted. He has written, among other things, a play called *Judas*. Two years after his release he was working as a playwright along with Brecht, Becher, Döblin, Toller and Tucholsky in the Piscator team in Berlin. Here too, his commitment was total. All the others, as it soon turned out, were only pursuing their own interests.

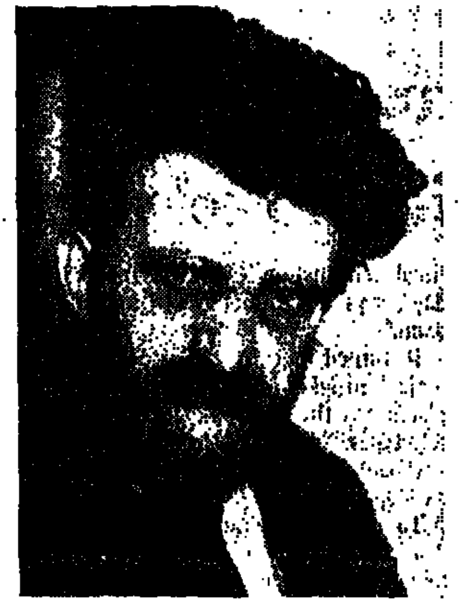
Mühsam worked out a detailed list of standing rules for cooperation between the dramatists. His colleagues read it but none acted on it.

Half a century ago, in April 1928, Mühsam's play *Judas* was first performed at the Piscator Bühnen Studio in Berlin. Ernst Busch played the main part, Leopold Lindtberg directed (his directing debut).

Mühsam's *Judas* in an application of the Judas theme to the working class movement. The Judas in this play is the compositor Schenk. Schenk does not betray for money, he informs on his friend, a pacifist scientist, because he needs such a case to rouse the workers into revolutionary action. The scheme falls flat and the rebellion is quashed. Schenk hangs himself.

Mühsam's *Judas* was a success with the critics but not with the public who stayed away en masse, even though the price of a theatre seat was not much higher than that of a cinema ticket.

A year later in Alexander Granach's November studio, Lindtberg directed Mühsam's documentary play *Sacco and Vanzetti*. Again the press approved, again the public stayed away. It was Mühsam's last theatre premiere.



Erich Mühsam, individualist, writer, innocent (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

He had no shortage of work all the same. He edited a magazine, wrote short stories, memoirs, essays, satires, poems. His poems like his prose, are political. They are easy to understand, slightly sentimental and utterly honest. His poems must have warmed the heart of many a communist official.

Mühsam himself did not easily fit into any party. He was an individualist, a bohemian, a writer and wanderer, a man of childlike innocence. A biography would probably be even more fascinating than the recent five-volume edition of his collected works, important though this edition undoubtedly is.

Mühsam's personality was more important than his texts, his proclamations, his programmes. He has an aura of saintliness and purity about him.

What happened to men like Mühsam in the Germany of those days? They ened up in concentration camps. Why did he not, like so many of his contemporaries, leave the country in time? It is said that he bore the humiliations he was subjected to in Oranienburg concentration camp patiently. This did not get him far with the Nazis, though it no doubt strengthened his inner stability and self-respect. The sensitive idealist was a constant provocation to the Nazi *Unmenschen*. He died on 10 July 1934. He had refused to sing the *Horst Wessel Lied*, so they killed him.

Heinrich Goertz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 April 1978)

Film catalogue for children

A Duisburg company has produced a film catalogue aimed at heightening children's critical awareness.

The *Atlas Kinderkino* contains lists and assessments of all children's films available in West Germany with summaries and suggestions about suitable age groups for films. It also has tips on practical work to teach children not merely to consume but to watch films critically.

The film catalogue, which gives prices of and conditions of hire, is available from: Atlas Film, Düsseldorfer Strasse 5–7, 4100 Duisburg 1.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 April 1978)

Inner migrant of poetry reaches 75

Peter Huchel, one of the outstanding contemporary German poets, recently celebrated his 75th birthday. His poety bears unmistakable signs of the inner emigration he was forced to make during his years of isolation in the GDR until he emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1971.

Huchel was born in Berlin in 1903 and grew up in Brandenburg. He studied at Berlin, Freiburg and Vienna universities and lied for a time in France. In the early 1920s some of his poems were published in the magazine *Die literarische Welt*. During the Hitler dictatorship, Huchel published little.

After the Second War, Huchel lived in the Soviet zone where he worked as a reader and programme director of East Berlin Radio. In 1948 he took over the editorship of the magazine *Sinn und Form*, which gained an international reputation during his editorship. Later he fell into disfavour and in 1962 had to give up this post.

In 1963, Huchel resisted GDR pressure to refuse the West Berlin Fontane prize. As a result all his post was cut off.

Peter Huchel: a plea for dialogue (Photo: Brigitte Friedrich)

He could not receive newspapers and his personal library was confiscated.

He was not given permission to leave the GDR until 1971. Huchel had strong ties with Brandenburg and it was hard at his age for him, to leave home and get used to the freedom in the West of which he had so long been deprived.

He has achieved international recognition for his volumes of poems entitled *Die Sternenreuse*, *Chausseen*, *Chausseen* and *Gezählte Tage* and has received several prizes for his poetry: the North-Rhine-Westphalia Art Prize, the Austrian State Prize and the Georg Büchner Prize, the leading German award.

His poems deal with the simple life. Though often tinged with melancholy, they have moments of merriment and brightness.

When he was awarded the first Europalia literature prize in Brussels recently, Huchel expressed surprise at his sudden popularity and stressed the importance of the dialogue between writers in East and West. Today he lives with his family in a small town in the Black Forest.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 3 April 1978)

World meeting of philosophers

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

Two thousand philosophers are expected to attend the 16th world philosophy congress in Düsseldorf this summer, the first time in 70 years that the congress has been held in Germany.

The general theme of the meeting, organised by the Berne *Fédération Internationale des Sociétés de Philosophie* under the auspices of President Walter Scheel is: "Philosophy and the world-views of modern science."

Eight working parties will discuss, among other things, "Modern biology's challenge of philosophy", "Forms of scientific rationality," "The scientific bases for norms", and "The idea of the universe". In addition there will be a number of special events.

The world congress of philosophers has clearly influenced the organisers of the Chancellor's traditional summer party on September 2. The party will be devited, in an amusing and ironical manner, to the subject of philosophy. The Chancellor's Office press spokesman says the provisional theme is, to adapt Nietzsche, *Die Geburt eines Festes aus dem Geist der Philosophie* (The birth of a feast from the spirit of Philosophy.) (Handelsblatt, 30 March 1978)

Egyptologists set standards

About 40 Egyptologists from all over the world meeting in Hanover and Hildesheim have laid down guidelines for the documentation of Egyptiana not yet included in standard catalogues and scientific works.

The aim of the this project, according to one of the experts at the *Corpus Antiquatum Aegyptiacarum* conference, is to enable scientists and others to cover the entire field of Egyptology from the early Stone Age to the birth of Christ.

The practice up to now has been to produce expensive books dealing only with certain areas. The new project will take decades to complete, as it will have to document hundreds of thousands of objects.

Fifteen volumes completed so far are to be published in the next months.

dpa

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 April 1978)

Gutenberg bible for Stuttgart

A Gutenberg bible was sold for two million dollars to the Federal Republic of Germany at Christie's in New York recently after bidding started at 500,000 dollars

The bible was bought by New York art dealer Martin Breslau on behalf of the Baden-Württemberg State Library in Stuttgart.

It is one of the 21 completely preserved copies of the first edition of 185 printed between 1450 and 1456. The bible consists of two volumes rebound in London in the last century. It belonged to the library of a New York seminary.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 April 1978)

■ RESEARCH

Two-year computer display screen study slams 'practical joke' work conditions

A two-year study commissioned by the Bonn Labour Ministry has examined 1,000 jobs on computer terminals in 30 companies and produced a long list of design shortcomings which put operators under stress.

The 450-page study entitled "On the adaptation of display screen jobs to the physical and psychological makeup of man" *produced by the Labour Research* Institute of Berlin's Technical University attempts to answer such question as: Does work on display screens turn people into wrecks? Does it cause bad eyesight, dizziness and mental and physical fatigue? Is existing bad eyesight aggravated? What would the ideal place of work look like?

The total of display terminal jobs in the Federal Republic of Germany is estimated at 40,000, expected to rise to 100,000 by 1980.

In extensive field studies, says the head of the project, Professor Albert Armbruster, it soon became evident that the study should not restrict itself to the display screen but should take into account the job as a system.

A data display unit is more than an electric typewriter with a monitor screen. It is connected with the entire electronic data processing installation and has many similarities with traditional office work: receipts and similar papers must be typed to feed them into the computer and the operator should be as relaxed as possible.

"The study shows that there is no optimal terminal unit on the market today", says Dr Ahmet Cakir, one of the team.

It turned out in all cases that the major mistake in the design of work places was the lighting. The operator rarely types "blind". He has to look at his keyboard, then at the display screen and back again at the keyboard.

To make the symbols on the screen discernible, many manufacturers believe room lights should be dim. But this does not make the symbols easier to read — it only makes it more difficult to read the original material.

This material is frequently hard to read to start with, being a third or fourth carbon copy with the original filed.

The display on the screen, that is, positive or negative writing (dark writing on light background or vice versa) is a major factor if flickering is to be reduced. The larger the lit screen area, the greater the flickering effect. As a result, the less legible negative script is used.

The researchers have come up with a list of shortcomings that should make equipment designers think. The bad reputation of computer terminals is not unwarranted, as the many instances of operator complaints about sore eyes and backaches bear out.

Most complaints come from operators paid on performance; 85 per cent of those questioned felt their eyes were overstrained.

Potential operators should undergo thorough eye examinations because undiagnosed problems can become greatly aggravated, says Dr Reinhard Bauer of Berlin's State Institute for Labour Medicine.

Using video recordings, it has been established that the operator changes the focus of his sight from document to keyboard to screen between 12,000 and 33,000 times a day.

The *distance* between these objects differs too much to enable the operator to refocus at the required speed.

The different intensity of light between these objects also overtaxes the eyes, resulting in eye- and headaches.

The way units were set up caused most complaints. Researchers frequently felt the way they were arranged was intended as a practical joke rather than a sensible work system.

They found data display units set up on tea trolleys on coasters, on round coffee tables and even on flower pedestals.

The report says tersely: "Existing conditions give rise to justified criticism."

To read the document before him, the operator frequently has to engage in acrobatics and he can only achieve the correct distance from the object to be read by constant craning of the neck.

This leads to posture problems and these in turn cause various other pains.

Seventy per cent of operators complained about pains in the neck and 60 per cent had backaches.

This is further aggravated by performance stress. Some years ago, punchcard operators making 6,000 punches per hour were considered tops; twice that number is viewed as average performance today.

One company has made a concerted effort to prevent posture problems. It introduced paid exercise breaks which reduced physical and mental fatigue.

Work on display screens — especially when the task is uninteresting — soon leads to mental fatigue and a negative attitude to the job.

The team concluded that operators are particularly overtaxed by constantly increasing work speed and the monotony that goes with it.

But they did not put forward a scientifically-based limit on working hours, as opposed to the Berlin State Institute for Labour Medicine, which recommends four hours a day, each 50 minutes followed by a ten-minute break.

The research team feels the work could be humanised by enlarging the operator's scope of action and by adapting the devices to man rather than the opposite.

The Technical University of Berlin, in conjunction with the Academy of Arts and commissioned by the Federal Institute for Labour Protection and Accident Research, has developed a model work place, taking into account the findings.

Screen and document are close and the keyboard is designed to be comfortable for hands and arms.

The work table will be exhibited at the Hanover Fair opening on 19 April.

With the research report, this will be a sensible aid to application says a high-ranking Labour Ministry official.

A further study by the Technical University of Berlin will go into work processes and related strains in the same field.

Humanisation of work will remain a perpetual task unless technology provides a breathing space.

Rainer Röcken

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 April 1978)

Medicine makes progress despite speed of change congress told

There is a good chance of conquering cancer by early diagnosis of malignant tumours and medicine is making sure progress in this field, the 84th German internists' congress in Wiesbaden has been told.

The congress also heard that medicine is in a state of flux. Ailments which yesterday were a scourge have suddenly become curable owing to new drugs.

Technological progress in the past decades has produced new medical apparatus, opening up undreamt of avenues of diagnosis.

Biochemical and molecular-biological research have provided new insights into the functioning of the healthy and the sick body.

But change in medicine was not only influenced by man, the meeting was told. Though not always clearly recognisable, natural processes played a major role. Thus, for instance, leprosy suddenly disappeared from Europe in the 16th Century. And germs causing infectious diseases underwent mutations. New viruses like that causing Russian 'flu made their appearance.

The congress stressed that a cureall would never exist, nor was it likely that research would find a miracle cure for cancer in the foreseeable future.

But this did not mean resignation. Instead, it was necessary to clearly assess the limits and possibilities of cancer therapy.

The last session emphasised the great chance of healing cancer by early diagnosis.

Generations of children had to eat spinach until it came out of their ears because spinach was held to be particularly rich in iron and thus important for the blood. But it all turns out to be a mistake, according to Professor J. W. Löhr of Freiburg. He told the congress the fallacy was due to a printing error. A turn of the century textbook had a comma in the wrong place in a description of the iron content of spinach.

The fairy tale was perpetuated until a few years ago when researchers re-determined the iron content of the big green leaf.

At the same time it turned out that, due to the plant's high acidity, the body finds it hard to absorb its iron.

According to Professor Löhr, parents should not overfeed their children with spinach but should give them broth and meat instead, providing iron in a much more digestible form.

Even so, we must not neglect our iron intake. Though the healthy body contains only three to five gramms of iron, this plays an extremely important role in the blood, most of it being found in the red blood corpuscles.

This so-called serum iron is characteristic of the individual. Its level is determined by biorhythms, age, sex, food intake, temperature and atmospheric pressure.

Research into the properties of iron in the human body is also important because it provides a basis for the treatment of anaemia. Major loss of blood, for instance, can frequently not be offset due to lack of iron in the body.

On the other hand, too much iron can also be harmful.

Professor P. Gedigk, Bonn, said that more than half the patients suffering from cirrhosis of the liver had excess iron deposits in the organ.

This was understandable because alcohol increased the body's iron absorbtion. Chronic sufferers from liver ailments absorbed huge quantities of iron with wine, rich in this element.

It was likely that medicine will one day conquer coronary and circulation ailments and their lethal consequences such as strokes and heart attacks.

In the USA, coronary ailments were already dimishing said Professor G. Schettler of Heidelberg.

Fatalities in the United States in the age group between 35 and 74 had diminished by an average 25 per cent since 1963.

No such development was visible in the Federal Republic of Germany where the disease was still on the increase.

High blood pressure, cigarette smoking and increased cholesterol levels promoted coronary and circulation ailments.

Research showed that a change in living habits and, above all, manipulation of the three major risk factors could reduce the incidence of these ailments.

The United States made great progress in the early diagnosis and treatment of hypertension from 1962 to 1974.

In 1962 only 16 per cent of hypertension sufferers knew about their ailment and were treated, this figure rose to 29 per cent by 1974.

Americans also smoke less. Smokers among the male population diminished from 52 per cent in 1966 to 39 per cent in 1975. However women's cigarette consumption only dropped from 32 to 29 per cent.

There had been a general change in the American way of life. Statistics showed that milk, butter, egg and animal fat consumption had dropped markedly, while that of vegetable oil increased correspondingly.

This change had affected the processes in the human body. Americans ate much less high cholestorine food than they did ten or 15 years ago, reducing the cholestorine level in the blood and changing the composition of blood fats.

Others attributed the spectacular drop in heart and circulatory diseases to stepped up physical exercise in the United States.

Only once we changed our way of life would fatalities diminish in the Federal Republic of Germany, according to Professor Schettler.

This would be an enormous saving for the national health system. Professor Schettler estimates an annual drop of these diseases by 25 per cent would mean savings of DM30,000 million a year.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 April 1978)

■ TRIAL

Court hears chilling tale of student's exorcism death

Anneliese Michel a 23-year-old teachers' training college student, died on June 1 1976 in the Lower Franconian town of Klingenberg in circumstances reminiscent of the Middle Ages when the cult of the devil, witch trials, black masses and the Inquisition were the order of the day.

Anneliese Michel believed she was possessed by evil spirits and, instead of consulting a doctor, sought the advice of an exorcist.

The exorcist, 67-year-old Salvatorian monk Pater Wilhelm Renz, also known as Pater Arnold, is by no means a sorcerer who goes about his business with all kinds of magical apparatus. On the contrary, he was acting on the instructions of Würzburg bishop Joseph Stangl.

This completely changes the perspective on the mysterious and spectacular events in the house of the Klingenberg (population under 7,000) sawmill owner Herr Michel. It is not a question of whether superstition led to the young woman's death. It is a question of the responsibility of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution.

The case has caused a sensation as the first for many years over death following exorcism. On the first day of the trial people were queueing at 6am to get one of the 168 public seats in the courtroom.

The defendants are represented by top lawyers. Erich Schmidt-Leichner from Frankfurt is appearing for the dead girl's parents. The Catholic Church is paying the fees of Marianne Thora and Frithjof Lipinski, defence counsel for Father Ernst Alt, 40, and Father Renz.

Bishop Joseph Stangl, who "after mature consideration" gave permission for the exorcism, is not in court. Proceedings against him and against the 83-year-old Frankfurt Jesuit Adolf Rodewyk, a leading authority on exorcism; were dropped. Rodewyk wrote a report saying that Anneliese Michel was possessed and that he had heard the voices of evil spirits within her.

The story began in October 1973, when Anneliese Michel went to see Ernst Alt, then chaplain of St. Agatha's Church in Aschaffenburg, and told him that she was possessed by evil spirits, smelt burning and was at the mercy of forces "that do what they will with me."

Father Alt, in his evidence, said Anneliese Michel had appeared to be a perfectly normal young woman, "not at all like one possessed." He consulted a number of doctors, none of whom could help, and then asked for advice from fellow priests.

The state prosocutor described the young woman's illness as an obsessive psychosis and guilt feelings. Alt was convinced that Anneliese Michel's was an "extraordinary case" and that she was possessed by the devil.

On September 16 1975 the letter the girl and her parents had so eagerly awaited arrived from the episcopal authorities in Würzburg. Pater Arnold had official permission to drive out Anneliese Michel's evil spirits. He attempted to do so three times a week, a total of 67 occasions.

The two priests gave evidence that the young woman had suffered indescribably during this period. Their belief that she was in reality possessed by evil spirits was not shaken by her death. Alt was relieved that Renz had been entrusted with the exorcism and he only occasionally attended these sessions. Renz, who makes no secret of his traditionalist views, firmly believed that God had called upon him to drive the evil spirits out of the girl.

He decided that the medical aspect of the case in no way concerned him. He told the court that he would have informed a doctor if he had known that Anneliese was ill.

Instead of doing so, he continued with the exorcisms based on the 350-year-old *Rituale Romanum*, some of the details of which are so macabre that they can hardly be described.

First of all they found a quiet room in the sawmill so that "the whole affair was kept relatively quiet and nobody heard anything" when the young woman screamed and raged.

Then began the long litanies, lasting four, five and six hours until "The Other" or the "Black One with the rasping man's voice" spoke.

When this happened, Renz believed that his moment had come and pressed the button of his tape-recorder. The purpose of this was to use the recording as evidence later that the devil really did exist.

Renz claims to have exorcised six spirits on October 31, 1975: those of Nero, Hitler, Lucifer, Judas, Cain and Fleischmann, the last being a priest from Ettleben who murdered his lover in the Middle Ages. Anneliese Michel believed that she had to atone for his sins. Renz also said that the Christ's stigmata or five wounds later appeared on the young woman's body and the spirits within her forbade her to eat.

Anneliese's parents are not only convinced that they have done God's will but insist that they would do the same again. A legend has already grown up around Anneliese and her death. A nun recently claimed that the dead woman's body was perfectly preserved.

In face of visions such as these which though disproved are still believed, it is doubtful whether the court's vedict will convince everyone. *Günter Höllenstein*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 9 April 1978)

Anneliese Michel: 67 exorcism sessions before her death (Photo: dpa)

■ SOCIETY

TV distorts crime says new study

DIE WELT

German television presents its viewers with a largely distorted, lopsided picture of crime says Münster psychologist and criminologist Professor Hans Joachim Schneider, following a study by the Criminological Institute of Westphalia University.

This criticism has given rise to arguments between programme-makers and critics in the past few years.

Professor Schneider and his team base their study on the observation that most people have no personal experience of crime. They say television does not want to present a real picture: certain crimes are over-represented and the causes of crime are personalised, while criminals are depicted in stereotypes.

"This distortion of reality is responsible for fears among the public and its negative attitude towards ex-criminals as well as for wrong assessments of society's reaction to crime."

The study concentrated on TV broadcasts from 1 April to 26 May 1975, among them such series as *Kojak, The Commissar* and *Columbo.*

A total of 43 films, 44 reports and commentaries, 76 news broadcasts and three discussions were analysed.

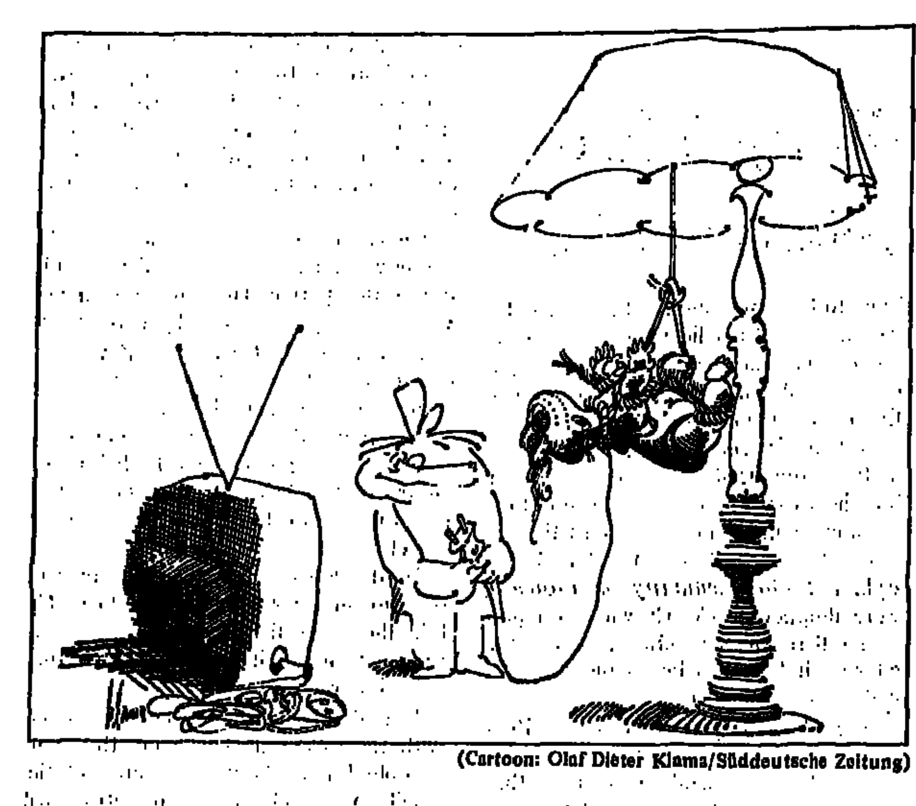
TV crime is summed up as:

- As a crime against a person, criminality is threatening and inexplicable. Homicide is over-represented by far. The causes of crimes and the criminal career of the perpetrator are almost never shown. The TV criminal is depicted as "unfair, unlikeable, ruthless and egocentric." Criminals proceed according to a carefully laid plan and are never irrational.
- TV almost always shows severe crimes of violence and the victim is almost always taken by surprise. "Television ignores the fact that, especially in the case of homicide, it is an accident that determines who is to be the victim and who the murderer," says Professor Schneider.
- On TV the investigator is successful, either as an individual or as part of the team. But television shows nothing of the grey zone of unsolved crimes.
- The investigator on TV usually acts intuitively and single-mindedly. Since there is no just sentence which all viewers would accept, the TV story does not concern itself with court proceedings in a criminal cases.
- The TV crime story presents a wrong picture of the structure of criminality. Crimes of violence, which in reality play a small role in overall criminality, are in the foreground. This, says Professor Schneider, "increases fear of a crime among the public." Moreover, the viewer devotes his attention to the wrong type of crime, which makes him an easier prey for real crime.
- Another element of distortion is that the TV crime story frequently takes place among the upper classes, which are blamed for crimes of the lower social strata. This obscures the true criminality of the upper classes.

Organised crime is presented as if the Chicago of the 1920s had not changed.

Hans-Hermann Tiedje

(Die Welt, 5 April 1978)



(Cartoon: Olaf Dieter Klama/Süddeutsche Zeitung)

Police union raps planners on 'crime-breeding' blocks

City planners and construction companies in Germany's major cities who built masses of high-rise apartment buildings in the past few years have been told by the policemen's union that "Modern city planning turns our children into criminals."

The union, GdP, usually concerned with higher wages for policemen, has decided that growing criminality (7.5 per cent increase in 1977 to 3.3 million crimes) can only be halted by getting to its roots.

The parental home, school and general educational problems, lack of communication and stress on performance in our mass society are some aspects delved into by experts.

GdP chairman Helmut Schirrmacher told the union's Bonn congress that "the manner in which our housing is designed plays a major role in crime and has been totally overlooked so far".

Egon Westphal, a member of the Hanover CID, said: "The higher a building, the higher the rate of crime. High-rise apartment houses with uncontrollable corridors provide a breeding place for breaking and entering, theft and property damage.

"Elevators are favoured for robbery and rape. The crime rate in these buildings is ten times as high as the national average. Since there are no communication facilities for the young, they form gangs."

Many of the children in reformatories come from such surroundings. It is only logical that terrorists, too, seek the anonymity of these buildings with their lack of social control.

"Hanns-Martin Schleyer was kept for days in such an apartment house without anything having been noticed by the neighbours," said Westphal.

"The concentration of people in huge housing complexes makes crime mushroom."

Düsseldorf architect Josef Lehmbrock, who has built a number of such apartment houses, took architects to task. "Architects do not build what they want to build. They have become the extended arm of housing companies and city planners instead of opposing them."

Herr Lehmbrock said this type of post-war architecture was providing the slums of tomorrow. In 20 years at the latest, he said, they would be torn down again.

Children particularly should not live in such places, programmed to turn the young into social misfits. They became lonely corridor children, he said.

Mothers lost sight of their children because it was impossible to keep an eye on a playground from the 20th storey.

High-rise children had no way of satisfying their natural need for exercise, their need to conquer the environment and to learn how to live within a community. Children needed an environment where they could break something from time to time without causing major damage.

As a result, experts said, vandalism was a natural part of these housing ghettos.

"Where bushes, benches, lamps and windows are destroyed, there is obviously a lack of opportunity for legal climbing, fighting and generally raising hell," said one.

The GdP congress concluded that buildings of more than four storeys should not be erected for families with children.

Mixed housing structures should replace the "special housing complexes" which today house large families, foreign workers, the elderly and the single.

Grandmother a few blocks away was worth her weight in gold, as one expert put it, because "grandparents are frequently better child raisers than parents."

If a high-rise building had to be built it should be designed in such a way that at least two to four families could form a corridor community.

New Bonn Housing Minister Dieter Haack warned against blaming all crimes on housing. Crime rates were also rising in rural communities and in expensive suburbs.

But Herr Haack, too, seemed to have realised that housing silos are an abomination: "My ministry is working on a new city planning concept to be ready by 1980."

Horst Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 April 1978)

'Living in sin' doesn't shock

About 55 per cent of West Germans can imagine living in a common law marriage say polls by the Hamburg Kehrmann Institute in which a cross section of 941 people were interviewed.

Forty-six per cent can also imagine such a relationship when children are planned.

Fifty-six per cent of women feel that they could have a happy marriage without a child. Eighty-six per cent say they would prefer to be properly married if planning to have children because this would be better for them. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 April 1978)

Majority happy with lives

The majority of people in the Federal Republic of Germany are satisfied or "very satisfied" with their lives.

A recently published study by the Hamburg Society for Market Research shows that 73.4 per cent of those interviewed are satisfied and 13.1 per cent very satisfied.

Only 12.1 per cent are "not so satisfied" and 1.4 per cent are "completely dissatisfied."

Civil servants are happiest with their lot, representing 19 per cent of the "happies", followed by white collar workers with 14.9 per cent, the self-employed with 12.6 per cent and the blue collar workers with 9.9 per cent.

North Germans are the most contented, with 17.2 per cent, as opposed to Bavaria with 13 per cent, South-West Germany with 11.7 per cent and Northrhine-Westphalia with 10.8 per cent. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 3 April 1978)

Worker wins smoking ban

Bonn's city administration must suspend smoking in one of its largest offices with 40 employees following a temporary injunction issued by a Cologne court following a suit by a staff member.

The court ruled that the worker had a legal right to the ban on smoking in the 600 sq. metre office. The smokers' right to freely express their personality was secondary to the non-smokers' right to physical inviolability.

In the court's view, smoke can cause a burning sensation in the eyes, headaches, coughing and billiousness. But it has not yet been established that so-called "passive smoking" is a health hazard. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 April 1978)

Plan to return hotel keys

Hotel guests who forget to return their room keys will have no headaches as from 1 May when the West German Postal Authority will introduce its hotel key service.

The keys can then be dropped in the nearest mailbox and will be delivered to the hotel shown on the address tag.

The fee of DM4.90 will be paid by the hotel.

The Hoteliers Association estimates that of the 750,000 room keys, 15 per cent are not turned in. *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 April 1978)

■ SPORT

National boss takes tough line on dues

WELT DER ARBEIT

Willy Weyer, president of the *Deutscher Sportbund* (German Sports Association, DSB) is determined to cut the organisation's administrative costs. He wants DSB members to pay higher, more realistic dues to cover administration: "We do not want these costs financed out of taxpayers' money," says Weyer.

He has called upon sporting associations and the Land associations to double their contributions to the DSB and threatened to resign if they do not comply.

"If you look at how much some of our members pay in contributions, it is ridiculous. The entire Ice Sport Association pays only DM4200 to the DSB but gets over DM1.77 million from the Bonn government," says Weyer.

"Modern pentathletes pay DM41 and get about DM230,000 from the government. The German Athletics Association gets over three million deutschmarks, plus salaries for a general secretary, a deputy and 12 trainers. All they pay us is DM30,000. This is a ridiculously low amount."

The powerful and rich German F.A. with four million members, although it needs to receive nothing from the central government, last year paid the DSB only DM 192,000.

There is no denying the grotesque disproportion between the DSB's finances and its membership of 15 million people in about 46,000 sports clubs.

In 1978 the DSB is to get more than DM10 million from the central government to pay for national trainers (being increased from 91 to 110), the trainers' academy in Cologne and administrative costs of DM5 million.

The DSB wants to pay these costs itself in future. It hopes to do this by getting a cut of profits from the *Glücksspirale* (Lucky Spiral) lottery and raising membership dues.

If the DSB were the sports trade union it has sometimes claimed to be it would have been bankrupt long ago.

In 1969, with 41 full-time officials on its payroll, it received a central government subsidy of DM572,000.

By 1978 full-time officials had risen to 72 and the government susidy to DM4,548,000.

The German Sports Association and the International Olympic Committee have over 80 full-time officials on their payrolls. The French equivalent, the CSNOF, has fewer than ten full-time officials.

It is interesting to note that Bonn also pays the salaries of a large number of general secretaries and sports directors in the sporting associations. Last year the number was 36.

The central government paid 38.3 million marks to the DSB and the separate sporting bodies in 1977. In 1978 the figure will be 42 million marks.

the Federal Institute of Sports Science has also received considerable central government support in past years. The figure this year is DM10.5 million, an increase of almost DM500,000 on 1977.

The total spent by the Ministry of the Interior on sport rose from DM85.7 million in 1977 to just under DM88 million in 1978. The amount spent by the various ministries is more than DM250 million.

The central government, the Länder and the local councils together spend DM3,000 million per year, a phenomenal amount compared to most other countries.

There will be no shortage of major sporting events in West Germany this year. We have already had the world skiing championships in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. The world fencing championships are in Hamburg soon, the world professional and amateur road-cycling events will be at the Nurburgring, the world show jumping championships in Aachen and the world swimming championships in Berlin.

The German Gymnastics Festival, in Hanover, this year has an international reputation and attracts top gymnasts from all over the world. Also coming up are the European table tennis championships in Duisburg, hockey championships and the German golf championship.

Ernst Dieter Schmickler

(Welt der Arbeit, 13 April 1978)

BMW out front in European Formula One

The BMW juniors seem to be unbeatable in this year's Formula 1 European championship.

Last Sunday in front of 60,000 spectators at the Hockenheim Ring in the Jim Clark Memorial Race the Italian Bruno Giacomelli in a March-BMW 782 came first ahead of his teammate Marc Surer of Switzerland.

This was a repeat of the Easter race in Thruxton, the first points race in this year's championship.

Before the race Giacomelli had confidently predicted a win. He is now overall leader in the championship with 18 points, ahead of Surer with 12 points.

The next places at Hockenheim also went to drivers with BMW engines. Frenchman Jarier was third ahead of Ingo Hoffmann, a German-Brazilian driving for the Challenge team.

Hoffmann's team-mate Eddie Cheever (USA) was the only BMW works driver who did not finish. He came seventh in the first race but had to give up with engine trouble in the second.

The Germans had no chance. Last year's winner Jochen Maass (Bad Dürkheim) could not get up among the leaders in his Chevron. He came eighth in the first race, which gave him seventh position overall.

Waiblingen BMW junior Manfred Winkelhock had similar bad luck. He was involved in a crash and had to make a pit stop. But he was pleased with his tenth place: "Tenth place is better than I could have expected. In Thruxton I came fifth but that was such a good result it almost frightened me. The spectators simply expect too much of me at the moment."

Hans Stuck (Munich), one-time "King of Hockenheim" did not compete even though BMW racing manager Jochen Neerpasch had taken pains to get a car for him.

For Giacomo Agostini, 15 times world motorbike championship, Hockenheim was a bitter disappointment. He did not qualify. His training time put him in 32nd position and there were only 25 starters. Manfred Winkelhock observed cruelly: "The good thing about Agostini is that he gets out of the fast drivers' way. I'll say that much for him."

(Münchner Merkur, 10 April 1978)

Team safety is big worry for World Cup planners

The German national soccer team's recent defeat by Brazil in Hamburg has punctured the euphoric confidence that the side would be able to hold on to the World Cup in Argentina this June.

German officials have their worries, too. They believe the 22 players and 18 officials who fly out from Frankfurt to Argentina on 23 May are in danger.

Security experts think there is a possibility that German and Palestinian terrorists could be planning a spectacular revenge for their defeat at Mogadishu. The Bonn Ministry of the Interior has named Reinhard Rupprecht, vice president of the *Bundeskriminalamt* (Federal C.I.D.) as "World Cup security man."

Rupprecht spent two weeks in Argentina studying their security measures.

Official sources in Bonn are silent over the security of the national team. The Ministry of the Interior has confined itself to saying: "We are now looking into whether we need to take special security precautions. This involves the examination of legal questions in consultation with the Argentinian authorities."

This laconic comment indicates the delicacy of the problem. German policemen can only act as bodyguards in Argentina with the express permission of the Argentinian government. And that government is determined to take at least one title — world security champions.

General Merlo, chief of the World Cup organisation, has set up a special unit of 800 policemen and soldiers under the command of Colonel Walter Cesar Ragalli. These men will form a heavily armed security cordon around the team quarters and the grounds.

The Argentinians are determined to check carefully on all incoming fans, including the 5,000 from this country. All spectators will be searched for weapons before they enter the stadium.

In view of these measures, Joachim Jaenicke, German ambassador in Buenos Aires, gives this advice: "Argentina is still in a state of emergency and German visitors ought to be reserved and careful in their behaviour."

This can only mean that the Argentinian security men are more likely to be too tough than too soft.

The Argentinians realise that checks on journalists, people with easy access to the players, have been a weak link in the past. They intend to put secret service men in the journalist corps to ensure that there are no terrorists with press cards.

Soccer guard: German national trainer Helmut Schön in the care of an Agentinian soldier. There are fears that violence may mar the World Cup.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Despite these intensive security measures, the German F.A. and the Bonn Ministry of the Interior have arranged for German specialists, members of the security group and the Federal Border Police, to keep a special eye on the German team.

If these security men are not given official permission to enter Argentina, they will join the German team as civilians. This would mean that they would only have the ordinary citizen's right of self-defence.

Only policemen totally uninterested in football are to be considered as bodyguards. They must not forget what they are there for in the excitement of the game.

Prominent Germans attending the World Cup finals will also have bodyguards. The question of who is to represent Bonn in Argentina has not yet been decided. No doubt there is no shortage of willing candidates in the Cabinet.

BKA vice president Rupprecht is to present a report detailing all security measures in the next few days. The list will include organisational measures and advice to the team. One piece of advice is that they should go around Buenos Aires in a group when sightseeing.

The situation in Argentina is fraught with risks for several reasons. One is the fierce opposition to General Videla's military regime. The Argentinian Monteneros are divided in their plans for the World Cup finals. One group has given a security guarantee, another has said there will be two executions in every town staging matches. General Carlos Actis, former World Cup organisation boss, was shot dead by terrorists.

Experts are convinced there is a serious danger that German and Palestinian terrorists could launch an operation against the German team as revenge for Mogadishu. They believe that not even drastic controls of incoming foreigners can eliminate this threat. Some terrorists speak perfect Spanish and have South American passports. *Horst Zimmermann*

(Münchner Merkur, 11 April 1978)